

**The Leadership Role of the Talented Tenth  
Among Afro-Americans, 1895-1919.**

**Fiona E. Spiers.**

**Ph.D.**

**University of Edinburgh**

**1974**



Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed entirely by myself,  
and that any errors of omission or commission are entirely my own.

Fiona E. Spiers.



Acknowledgements

I should like to express my profound appreciation of the patience, understanding and guidance of my supervisor, Professor G.A. Shepperson, whose insights and criticisms have been stimulating and whose experience has proved invaluable.

I am also grateful to Dr. K.J. King of Edinburgh University for sharing his experiences of field work in the United States; to Dr. C.D. Rice and Professor C. Davis of Yale University for their help, suggestions and constructive criticism; to Professor and Mrs. L.R. Harlan of the University of Maryland for directing my researches in the Booker T. Washington papers; to Dr. W. Toll of the University of Oregon for bringing to my attention many obscure references in the manuscript collections of Howard University and the Library of Congress; and to Professor J.W. Blassingame of Yale University for his generous assistance in the bibliographical and other aspects of this research. I should also like to record my appreciation of those who agreed to be interviewed, and to Mrs. Poppy Cannon White and Mrs. Amy Spingarn for their permission to consult their late husbands' papers.

As with all research, the co-operation, friendship and enthusiasm of librarians and archivists greatly facilitated my endeavours, and I should like to thank the staff of Edinburgh University Library, especially the Inter-Library Loan Department, the National Library of Scotland and the British Museum, in particular the Newspaper Library at Colindale; the staff of the Houghton, Widener and Lamont Libraries, Harvard University, of the Boston Public Library and of the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation, Bethune-Cookman College. To many

individual librarians I am especially grateful, namely Dr. H.B.

Gotlieb of Boston University Library; Mrs. A. Whelpley of the Beinecke Library, Yale; Mrs. J. Hutson of the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library; Dr. F. Malval and Miss E. Gilman of Hampton Institute; Mrs. Alexander of Atlanta University Library; Mr. D.T. Williams of Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. S. Chandler of Fisk University; Mrs. D. Porter and Mrs. Stokes of the Moorland-Spingarn Room, Howard University, and Mrs. C. Sung of the Manuscript Room, Library of Congress.

Finally, I am indebted to Mrs. K. MacKenzie and Mrs. R. Watt for typing this thesis with care and precision, and to Edward, my husband, for his constant help and encouragement.

This thesis endeavours to examine W.E.B. DuBois' concept of a Talented Tenth as the black leadership élite of the period 1895-1919. It discusses the development, evolution and limitations of this idea, and attempts to compare the theory with the reality.

It investigates the ideology of leadership within the black community, and suggests reasons for the motivation and goal selection of black leaders. Chapter 2 examines the social structure of the Talented Tenth, assessing its dimensions and socio-economic characteristics. Chapter 3 centres on the problems of inter-group communication, and describes both the agencies and the difficulties of this leadership function. It looks principally at the media of language, oratory, publications and the press, and follows the adaptation of techniques to fit varying circumstances.

The next chapter studies the intra-racial organisations which were dominated by the Talented Tenth, describing their aims and objects, composition and structure, and resilience and durability. Chapter 5 surveys the debate within the Talented Tenth as to the most efficacious methods of attaining the desired ends, or solving the race problem. It contrasts agitation with gradualist tactics, and reviews the struggle with Booker T. Washington and the other factions aspiring to leadership, namely the politicians, the Church, the separatists, the demagogues, especially Marcus Garvey, and the socialists. Chapter 6 focuses on the special problems and the distinctive role of the black female intellectual, and her attempts to overcome the double handicap of racial and sexual prejudice.

Chapter 7 analyses the participation of the Talented Tenth in inter-racial movements and the personal relationships that developed or failed to develop, with white sympathisers. It also examines the effect of

white help, and the differing attitudes of the liberals and the philanthropists. The following two chapters discuss the reaction of the Talented Tenth to the issues of the "Negro Problem" in the American context, and then the attitudes of the Talented Tenth to the wider issues of American life or international situations.

The final chapter attempts to collate the preceding evidence by assessing the role of the Talented Tenth as theorists of the Afro-American experience. It claims that their role was of necessity practical rather than philosophical, and deals with their dilemma of portraying a favorable racial image to a dual audience. It looks at black writing in the white press and at black literature, viewing this period as the prelude to the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920's. In relating the development of racial ideologies, scientific and sociological arguments, and the growth of black history, it surveys the growth of race pride and self-respect, the upsurge of social work and the concept of "social uplift". Finally, the chapter estimates the cohesion and co-operation of the group, and its outlook on its intra-racial and inter-racial predicament.

Manuscripts

A.L.C.	Autograph Letter Collection
R.S.B.	Ray Stannard Baker
B.G.B.	Benjamin Griffith Brawly
J.E.B.	John Edward Bruce
T.M.C.	Thomas Monroe Campbell
A.C.	Andrew Carnegie
G.W.C.	George Washington Carver
C.W.C.	Charles Waddell Chesnutt
G.W.C.	George William Cook
W.E.B.D.	William Edward Burghardt DuBois
G.W.F.	George W. Forbes
A.H.G.	Archibald Henry Grimké
F.J.G.	Francis James Grimké
G.E.H.	George E. Haynes
A.L.H.	Albon L. Holsey
J.W.J.	James Weldon Johnson
K.M.	Kelly Miller
R.R.M.	Robert Russa Moton
F.H.M.M.	Freeman Henry M. Murray
W.M.	William McKinley
R.C.O.	Robert C. Ogden
G.F.P.	George Foster Peabody
T.R.	Theodore Roosevelt
C.E.R.	Charles Edward Russell
A.S.	Arthur Schomburg
A.B.S.	Arthur Barnett Spingarn
J.E.S.	Joel Elias Spingarn

A.P.S.	Anson Phelps Stokes
M.S.	Moorfield Storey
W.H.T.	William Howard Taft
M.C.T.	Mary Church Terrell
R.H.T.	Robert Herberton Terrell
G.A.T.	George Alexander Towns
W.M.T.	William Monroe Trotter
H.M.T.	Henry McNeil Turner
O.G.V.	Oswald Garrison Villard
B.T.W.	Booker Taliaferro Washington
M.M.W.	Margaret Murray Washington
W.F.W.	Walter Francis White
W.T.B.W.	William Taylor Burwell Williams
W.W.	Woodrow Wilson
C.G.W.	Carter Godwin Woodson
M.N.W.	Monroe Nathan Work

### Libraries

A.U.C.	Atlanta University Center
B.C.C.	Bethune-Cookman College
B.P.L.	Boston Public Library
B.U.	Boston University
H.I.	Hampton Institute
H.U.	Howard University
L.C.	Library of Congress
N.Y.P.L.	New York Public Library
T.I.	Tuskegee Institute

### States

Ala.	Alabama
D.C.	District of Columbia
Fla.	Florida

Ga.	Georgia
Ill.	Illinois
Ind.	Indiana
Kty.	Kentucky
La.	Louisiana
Mass.	Massachusetts
Miss.	Mississippi
N.Y.	New York
N.C.	North Carolina
P.A.	Pennsylvania
S.C.	South Carolina
Tenn.	Tennessee.

### Organisations

A.C.S.	American Colonisation Society
A.N.A.	American Negro Academy
A.S.N.L.H.	Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
B.L. & H.A.	Bethel Literary and Historical Association
C.I.C.	Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation
I.P.C.	Independent Political Council
N.A.A.C.	National Afro-American Council
N.A.A.C.P.	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
N.A.A.L.	National Afro-American League
N.A.C.W.	National Association of Colored Women
N.F.C.W.C.	National Federation of Colored Womens' Clubs
N.I.P.L.	National Independent Political League
N.N.B.L.	National Negro Business League
N.O.S.Va.	Negro Organisation Society of Virginia
N.S.H.R.	Negro Society for Historical Research
NJ.	Neighborhood Union
N.U.L.	National Urban League (National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes)
U.N.I.A.	Universal Negro Improvement Association

## Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	ii
Summary	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Chapter I      The Concept of the "Talented Tenth"	1
Chapter II     The Social Structure of the Talented Tenth	26
Chapter III    The Problems of Communication	45
Chapter IV     The Organizational Expression of Leadership	83
Chapter V      The Leadership Debate: Methods and Alternatives	128
Chapter VI     The Black Female Intellectual	197
Chapter VII    The Talented Tenth and their White Sympathizers	223
Chapter VIII   The Talented Tenth Confront "The Negro Problem"	259
Chapter IX     The Talented Tenth and the Wider World	290
Chapter X      The Talented Tenth as Theorizers of the Black Social Experience	314
Appendices	359
Bibliography	379



## CHAPTER I

### THE CONCEPT OF THE "TALENTED TENTH"

The slogan "Talented Tenth" originated from the pen of W.E.B. DuBois in 1903, when he set out in the following terms his optimistic yet subtle blend of élitism and noblesse oblige:-

"The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the worst, in their own and other races."<sup>1</sup>.

The purpose of this research is to compare DuBois's concept of the Talented Tenth with the realities that faced the emergent élite in the second generation out of slavery, a period which dawned with the death of Frederick Douglass and the Atlanta Exposition, and culminated in the post-war turmoil of 1919, the advent of Marcus Garvey, and the flowering of the Harlem Renaissance. Termed the "nadir" in race relations,<sup>2</sup> the vicissitudes of the black man's experience around the turn of the century have been chronicled and analysed elsewhere;<sup>3</sup> this study concerns the social composition of the Talented Tenth and the problems that accrued to its attempts at leadership, the organizational expression

- 
1. B.T. Washington and others, The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of Today (New York, 1903) p.33. The phrase "the Talented Tenth", although coined by W.E.B. DuBois, passed into general usage, and throughout the text it will be spelt with capital letters, and not placed in inverted commas.
  2. R.W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901 (New York, 1954).
  3. R.W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro, from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1965).  
 A. Meier, Negro Thought in America: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, 1963).  
 C.G. Woodson and C. Wesley, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C. 1966)  
 C. Van Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge, 1951).  
 C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York, 1966).  
 These are only some of the most outstanding general works on this period.

and tactics of this leadership role, the relationship of the Talented Tenth to both the black and the white worlds, and finally the development of socio-cultural philosophies and group cohesion.

Fusing an ideal of education, a philosophy of social uplift, and a creed of morality together, DuBois claimed that this privileged group would elevate those "worth saving",<sup>4</sup> so that the Talented Tenth would always welcome those who had proven their fitness to be enumerated in its ranks. In this sense it was not to be a closed caste, but the pinnacle of a meritocracy. Acknowledging the immediate benefits of industrial education for the majority of his race, and pointing out the interdependence between the higher and the industrial types of education, DuBois united his ideals of education and leadership into a codified scheme:-

"....human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life - the training of one's home, of one's daily companions, of one's social class..."<sup>5</sup> for "...Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work - it must teach life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people..."<sup>6</sup>.

Education in this way became a total experience - the socialization of the personality and the development of morality in addition to the acquisition of knowledge; for it was hoped that sufficient good teaching would enable self-control to take over from instruction in the sphere of personal conduct. Sometimes also the suggestion was implicit that the school and the teacher were often necessary to remedy the moral deficiencies in the early background of the scholar. Only forty years after Emancipation, it was too much to expect a stable family situation and

---

4. B.T.Washington et al, op.cit., p.45.

5. Ibid., p.61.

6. Ibid., p.75.

the negation of the evil legacies of slavery, so the Talented Tenth looked on themselves not only as leaders and teachers, but also as living examples of the morally and materially attainable. The idea of the Talented Tenth also drew partially on the self-help tradition in black thought, by insisting that the race should furnish its own leaders to regenerate itself culturally from within. Thus they provided an intellectual parallel to the self-help formulae Booker T. Washington was propounding at this time with regard to agriculture and business.<sup>7</sup>

These ideas were amplified in an article which appeared in October, 1903, where DuBois explored the consequences of his earlier proposals:-

"The sound after-thought of the American people must come to realize that the responsibility for dispelling ignorance and poverty and uprooting crime among negroes cannot be put upon their own shoulders unless they are given such independent leadership in intelligence, skill and morality as will inevitably lead to an independent manhood which cannot and will not rest in bonds."<sup>8</sup>

The necessary equipment to stamp out ignorance, poverty and crime included not only education and social organization, but the more important power of the ballot and the protection of the law - the logical adjuncts of the demand for citizenship rights. DuBois was able to present this as a neat package, concluding that

"...a rationally arranged college course of study for men and women able to pursue it is the best and only method of putting into the world negroes with ability to use the social forces of their race so as to stamp out crime, strengthen the home, eliminate degenerates, and inspire and encourage the higher tendencies of the race not only in thought and aspiration, but in everyday toil."<sup>9</sup>

This concept of an altruistic élite was a refined version of DuBois'

---

7. As the concept of the Talented Tenth first appeared in its systematized form in a book edited by Booker T. Washington, a certain amount of ideological reciprocity is not unexpected.

8. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Training of Negroes for Social Power,' Outlook Vol. 75, (17 Oct., 1903), p. 409.

9. Ibid., p. 414.

earlier formulation of the need for a black leadership class, only by 1903 he had moved away from the ideal of the country gentleman to that of the scholar as the means of filling the leadership void. Delivering the Commencement Address at Fisk University in 1898, he had claimed that "... the Negro people need the country gentleman - the man of air and health and home and morals, and today we have an unparalleled chance to supply such an aristocracy." Once the heritage of slavery had been unlearned, the race could begin to supply "captains of industry" who would guide and direct the economic development of the Negroes from the morass of poverty to prosperity.<sup>10</sup> DuBois never lost sight of the economic aspects of racial development, but added to material achievement the need for political rights, and cultural and social uplift. In so doing, he incorporated into his philosophy some of the ideas propounded by the most notable black thinkers of the era.

Alexander Crummell had long denounced in resounding terms the emphasis on materialism at the expense of manhood; rather than property, position or heredity, a race needed civilization, which could only be supplied "by the scholars and thinkers, who have secured the vision which penetrates the centre of nature, and sweeps the circles of historic enlightenment; and who have got insight into the life of things, and learned the art by which men touch the springs of action."<sup>11</sup> There was an explicit paternalism in Crummell's statements, for he felt that the learned should "guide both the opinions and the habits of the crude  
<sup>12</sup> masses" who could never aspire to being learned or scientific. But the scholar could not afford the luxury of purely intellectual pursuits,

---

10. Richmond Planet, Nov.12,1898,p.4.

11. A.Crummell, Civilization, The Primal Need of the Race. Inaugural Address to A.N.A. March 5,1897. Occasional Papers, A.N.A.

12. Ibid., p.6.

for on him rested the burden of philanthropy - it was incumbent upon him to share his cultural wealth. These ideas soon filtered out beyond the exclusive confines of the American Negro Academy, which Crummell had founded in 1897, into the black press. In 1901, the Colored American could editorialize that higher education was meant "for such only whose talents and capabilities lead them to make sacrifices and submit to the discipline requisite to mastering the conditions of higher education."<sup>13</sup> Thus the privilege of higher education entailed the necessity of making sacrifices for the general racial good, and the duty to diffuse the fruits of one's achievements among the less fortunate of the race.

The notion of the Talented Tenth cuts across received sociological thinking on the definitions of both élites and intelligentsias, and the problems are compounded by the complicating factor of minority group status. T.B. Bottomore has made a useful distinction between the "intelligentsia", those with higher education who have professional or clerical occupations, and the "intellectuals", a much smaller group who contribute directly to the creation, transmission and criticism of ideas.<sup>14</sup> The Talented Tenth embraced both these groups, for paucity of numbers prohibited concentration on the latter alone, while lack of economic opportunity forced many blacks into menial, clerical positions, when they were suitably qualified for those employments traditionally associated with intellectuals, namely those as writers, artists, scientists, philosophers, religious thinkers, social theorists, political commentators etc. Although blacks engaged in intellectual pursuits, they could rarely rely on them for total, or even adequate, remuneration or sustenance.

---

13. Colored American, April 20, 1901, p.8.

14. T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London, 1964), p.64.



Another facet of the Talented Tenth was the insistence on the combination of thought and action, so precipitating the intellectuals directly into the social, economic and political currents of their day. This negated any pretensions to their becoming a "freischwebende Intelligenz"<sup>15</sup> - an unanchored, relatively classless stratum who could either hold aloof from, or affiliate with, one or other of the antagonistic classes in society. The common bond uniting intellectuals is usually recognized as their advanced education, with its application rather than its possession as the paramount consideration. In the case of the Talented Tenth, both education and "culture"<sup>16</sup> were criteria, but because of the pressure of circumstances, that education did not always have to be formal; in fact many of the Talented Tenth were at least partially self-taught.<sup>17</sup> In an age that glorified the self-made businessman, the self-taught intellectual was no anomaly. This outlook was reinforced by the American tradition of the social commitment of the intellectual, an idea venerated by the Founding Fathers and transmitted via Emerson. "The happy combination of learning and experience" which made the intellectual "a storage battery of moral power" was the rationalization in ideology of what had become the fact through necessity.<sup>18</sup>

It has been suggested that a black intellectual may be actively, passively or marginally ethnic in his focus and commitment.<sup>19</sup> The

---

15. K.Mannheim in G.B.de Huszar, The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), pp.62-63.

16. In this sense "culture" was a concept that amalgamated an appreciation of the Arts with middleclass concepts of morality. It was sometimes used interchangeably with "refinement".

17. Please see Chapter 2, pp. 29-33.

18. R.H. Terrell to E.H.Hall (Corresponding Secretary, Garnett Literary Association), Jan.6, 1890. R.H.T.Mss.L.C. Biographical details of the more prominent members of the Talented Tenth cited in this work can be found in Appendix I. The identity of less significant figures will be given in parenthesis.

19. M.M.Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, 1964), pp.228-9.

majority of the Talented Tenth were both voluntarily and involuntarily actively ethnic; it was a matter of principle as well as of necessity. By definition, the actively ethnic intellectual remains within his ethnic group, focusing his attention on ethnicity, although he maintains an acquaintance with broader intellectual developments. Although some blacks managed to pursue their careers in their chosen fields without undue emphasis on race, in the standard branches of scholarship the black intellectual was channelled into studies with a racial bias. James Weldon Johnson described this process as

"...the dwarfing, warping, distorting influence which operates on each and every coloured man in the United States. He is forced to take his outlook on all things, not from the viewpoint of a citizen or a man, or even a human being, but from the viewpoint of a coloured man."<sup>20</sup>.

The black intellectual therefore had a specific grievance to rectify - racial prejudice - and his choice of social and political interests and issues was subordinated to his prior interest in the achievement of racial equality. The most illustrious example of this process was W.E.B. DuBois himself:

"Forced by pressure of circumstances, gradually he has been led from the congenial retreat of the scholar into the arena of social struggle."<sup>21</sup>.

The recognition of the dilemmas besetting the black intellectuals was contemporary as well as retrospective. T.Thomas Fortune, realizing that "the pursuit of scholarship will claim the few while the pursuit of material things will claim the many," nevertheless lamented the deadening effect that this had on the Talented Tenth. When it was discovered that the "best minds are busily tormented with the race problem"

---

20. J.W.Johnson, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man (New York, 1960), p.21.

21. B.G.Brawley, The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States (New York, 1918), p.55.

and that group solidarity "discourages if not precludes that development to the utmost of the individual which Goethe thought the most precious of human privileges",<sup>22</sup> "a vicious circle of prejudice, exclusion, group solidarity, then rejuvenated prejudice seemed complete. The materialism of which Fortune complained affected significantly the debate on the role and function of the black intellectual. His usefulness had to be seen to be conceded. Although he subscribed to and lived up to the recognized criteria of scholarship, lofty ideals and high aspirations, his utility remained his prime justification."<sup>23</sup>

One way of achieving practical results was to correct the misinterpretations of the Negro in the white press, in literature, and in the social sciences. This was based on the optimistic assumption that the "truth", once exposed, would be believed, thus dispelling prejudice. In spite of evidence to the contrary, W.S. Scarborough could still write in 1904,

"Conscience is a powerful corrective when allowed to act freely. I fully believe that this whole matter will be amicably settled in time when the white man shall be brought to see the error of his ways..."<sup>24</sup>.

Kelly Miller, while he insisted that education should have absolute criteria, not those modified by racial considerations, was forced to concede that the future for "the educated Negro Youth....is not to explore, but to interpret and apply."<sup>25</sup> It was his role to disseminate knowledge among the masses of race, rather than to indulge himself in

22. New York Age, April 20, 1905, p.2.

23. Ms. 'The Functions of a Colored Scholar,' no date. A.F.Hilyer Mss. Moorland Room, H.U.

24. W.S.Scarborough. 'White vs Black', The Voice of the Negro, Vol.I (Jan.1904), p.28.

25. K.Miller, 'The Function of a Negro College', The Dial, Vol.32, (April 16, 1902), pp.267-270.



productive scholarship. This was recognized as the temporary consequence of proscriptive circumstances, not as a permanent reflection of his abilities. Miller further ascribed a distinctive function to the black college, that of directing and dominating the higher life of the race, and of producing future leaders with a sound understanding of the sociological problems with which they might later have to deal. However, the danger of making all black education too practical was apparent to W.S. Scarborough, who deplored the increasing defensiveness of Negro Scholarship,<sup>26</sup> for he claimed for his race "all the latitude in the pursuit of knowledge that other races have."<sup>27</sup> Although he felt that the race's future depended upon its intellectual development, he still felt obliged to advocate the teaching of "the dignity of labor, the nobility of work; that idleness is crime, and that to every task of hand or brain the best within him should be brought,"<sup>28</sup> for in the Afro-American's situation

"the strong, working brain must be the guide to the strong, working hand...The masses must move, but the classes must move them if progress upward is to be in order. We must build up an honest, thrifty yeomanry, but we must multiply rapidly our educated men to lead and to work and to influence in various fields." 29.

Echoing the words of Crummell and DuBois, in this memorable oration Scarborough listed the activities in which the scholar could participate - writing books, making experiments, analysing conditions, discovering new ways and means of uplift, and presenting to the world at large a true

---

26. W.S.Scarborough, Speech, Feb.10,1902, to Boston Literary and Historical Association. Minutes. W.M.T.Mss. B.U.

27. W.S.Scarborough, 'The Negro and Higher Learning,' Forum, Vol.33, (May, 1902), p.351.

28. Ibid., p.352.

29. W.S.Scarborough, The Educated Negro and his Mission, A.N.A. Occasional Papers, No.8 (1903).

picture of the black community, which would be an ever-present reminder of the intellect and capacity of blacks. But first and foremost the role of the scholar was to be service; Scarborough even suggested the motto of "Ich Dien" for the Talented Tenth. The idea of noblesse oblige was firmly established.<sup>30</sup>

"Noblesse oblige" would appear to have been one of the primary motivations in the intellectuals' assumption of the mantle of leadership. Rewards in both status and money were higher in many fields other than racial leadership, especially if this was in any way militant. On the other hand the duties of the race leader that involved contact with whites undoubtedly conferred a certain amount of status.<sup>31</sup> None seemingly aimed to make a career out of race leadership in professional terms; "leadership" usually became additional to or a consequence of a full-time occupation, although there were those who opportunistically spotted a means of self-aggrandizement and publicity. The majority of the latter were never welcomed or accepted by the Talented Tenth. More common was the experience of William Monroe Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian, who

---

30. The New York Age editorialized on the dichotomy between the mottos "Noblesse oblige" and "eat, drink and be merry", to the pronounced favour of the former (Mar.8,1905).

In 1910, W.T.B.Williams used it as an argument to convince Leslie Pinckney Hill of Manassas that he ought to help a committee on education established by the Hampton Conference in 1909. W.T.B. Williams to L.P.Hill, Sept.23,1910, W.T.B.W. Mss. T.I.

Also several autobiographies mention it as a factor in vocational selection, e.g. R.R.Wright, 87 Years Behind the Black Curtain (Philadelphia, 1965) p.87, "I was graduated with an A.B. in June, 1898, at the age of 20, firmly indoctrinated with the idea of education for leadership and service. I felt I owed it to the cause of education and to my people to become a leader in superior service."

L.C.Jones, Piney Woods and its Story (New York,1922),p.48. Jones, having given up his ambition for riches and travel, commented "Noblesse oblige, however, taught me that my duty was down in the black belt among the less fortunate of my people."

31. Please see Chapters 2 and 7.

"...did not seek a career of agitation and organization for equality for his race...The burden was dropped upon him by the desertion of others and he would not desert that duty."<sup>32</sup>.

The thankless task of the black leader was summarized by the

Competitor:-

"Leadership must entail sacrifice. We have no leisure class. We have no men of wealth who have capabilities equal to the needs of the race at this particular time in our history. We have never made any provision for any of the leaders we have ever had. Douglass fought for us without receiving from us the common necessities of life. Booker Washington's services were made possible by the provision of funds furnished by Carnegie. W.E.B. DuBois would be sorely handicapped without the support of the National Association. Major Moton followed the course financed by white friends who made Tuskegee a certainty. Monroe Trotter tried to rise to leadership through Negro support and his sacrifices are almost pitiable. Not a man have we ever financed or encouraged. And in spite of our negligence of our men, we have had some faithful servants whose leadership has contributed abundantly to our present lot."<sup>33</sup>.

The Competitor adroitly posed the dilemmas of selection and support that plagued the aspirant black leaders, but like many of the black organs of the day, it assumed that the meaning of "leadership" was self-evident. "An omnibus term, indiscriminately applied,"<sup>34</sup> black leadership encompassed the personal and the executive, the inter-racial and the intra-racial, the inspirational and the decision-making, and at various times it included the "top-achievers", the eminent men and the self-appointed group spokesmen. In addition to the peculiar racial problems, it included the general definition of a leader which usually denotes someone with a status that permits him to exercise influence over certain other individuals,<sup>35</sup> either because his attainments are considered high,

---

32. S.R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter (New York, 1970), p.3.

33. Competitor, Vol.I. (Feb.,1920), p.5.

34. E.E.Jennings, An Anatomy of Leadership, (New York,1966),p.2.

35. E.P. Hollander and R.G.Hunt, ed., Current Perspectives in Social Psychology, (New York,1963), p.468.

because he is recognized as superior by others engaged in a similar activity, or because he evokes a response from other people,<sup>36</sup> that is to say, he exercises a certain amount of charisma. Leadership involves making group goals appealing, ensuring and organizing co-operation towards these aims, and the persuasion of the non-leaders by various methods, excluding the use of physical force.<sup>37</sup>

"Leadership" was a frequent topic for editorials in the coloured press, as E.E. Cooper wearily remarked in the Colored American, "Leadership, like the tariff, (sic) is an issue that is always with us..." While he bemoaned a situation where anyone was a 'leader', who by persistent agitation or unusual activity became identified as the embodiment of an idea,<sup>38</sup> Cooper was fully aware that no single leader could possibly represent all the varied conditions and interests of the race. He therefore advocated that people ought to be recognized as leaders of their race in their own specialized fields, but not to have pretensions to overall "race leadership". He liked to reprint the editorial which first appeared in May, 1898, stressing the need for "shrewd, courageous and unselfish leadership" which was neither dictatorship nor bossism.<sup>39</sup> To Cooper, Leaders were definitely 'doers' and his selection of candidates is interesting. Answering George Knox's call in the Indianapolis Freeman for a race pilot, he sang the praises of George H. White - the "Parnell of the situation" - who was "capable, courageous and better still, available".<sup>40</sup> Realizing that the race

---

36. A.W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership, (New York, 1950), p.348.

37. O. Tead, The Art of Leadership, (New York, 1935), pp.12 and 34.

38. Colored American, Feb.1, 1902, p.8.

39. Colored American, May 28, 1898, p.4.

40. Colored American, March 2, 1901, p.8.

would not follow a single leader, probably for a century, his choice of alternatives spanned the whole spectrum of black activity:- "Washington in education, Walters in the Church, White in politics, the True Reformers in business, Dunbar, Chesnutt and others in literature." On other occasions he added W.H. Council, William L. Taylor, Isiah T. Montgomery, Bishops Turner and Grant, Fortune, Bruce and King, and Lyons, Cheatham and Rucker to this list.<sup>41.</sup>

Cooper has been treated at some length because he was one of the few editors who had a vision of leadership; most newspaper men found it a convenient slogan for polemic editorials, rather than a visionary ideal. Cooper's ideal involved

"more than the ability to gain the plaudits of the multitudes. True leadership presupposes an intimate knowledge of the people who accept and adopt it.... Every man who receives prominent official recognition at the hands of the powers is a leader to some extent. This is more conspicuously so in weaker races than otherwise... True leaders are men of high character, of wide experience, and of extraordinary familiarity with the necessities of the people and country in which they live. They must not be creatures of policies but rather their creators; they must not be swayed from the line of duty by public sentiment, but by their wise agitation and sturdy resistance to wrongs, create favorable public opinion in favor of the cause they represent." <sup>42.</sup>

Thus the race leader, although acting altruistically in the interests of the masses, was not obliged to be responsive to his followers immediate demands, or their assessment of their predicament. The paternalism of the Talented Tenth had become self-confident enough to say categorically that they knew better than the people themselves what was good for them.

The Baltimore Afro-American entered the debate early, suggesting that racial unity would enable the recognition of two or three really eminent men who could be put forward as potential Cabinet members - a

---

41. Colored American, November 16, 1901, p.8.

42. Colored American, December 7, 1901, p.8.



very optimistic proposal at the turn of the century. The same editorial ascribed weaknesses in the leadership structure to the fact that "There has been too much disposition on our part to accept the leadership of men assigned to us by our Anglo-Saxon brother instead of making the selection ourselves."<sup>43</sup> Occasionally editors indulged in esoteric flights of fancy:-

"Leadership is the thing that gathers to itself all the atomic fragments of human thought which seek a given object, and concentrate themselves into a unit, with a designated mouthpiece, a spokesman, a representative who becomes a magnet or a death's head." <sup>44</sup>.

Fortunately such passages are rare. More important were the pronouncements of the Indianapolis Freeman, whose editor despised the opportunist, and accepted that all men of eminence had some influence, whether selected by blacks or whites.

"...By some circumstance they (the opportunists) are made to appear prominent among their people, and from this appearance they are supposed to possess a considerable influence. This supposed influence is to them a commodity used for the purpose of gain; it never seems to occur to them that the confidence reposed in them by any of their more humble fellows is a sacred trust, or that any prominence or influence which they may hold carries with it a serious responsibility. They have never learned that every Negro of influence is a trustee of the race whose obligation to his people is in exact proportion to the influence he wields.... There was never a time when moral responsibility rested heavier upon those who are in a position to help the race than it does today; nor was there ever a time when we were more in need of self-help." <sup>45</sup>.

The press was able both to highlight and to intensify the problem of leadership selection; they denounced the influence of whites in the choosing of black spokesmen, but often they nominated their own candidates in a similar arbitrary and haphazard manner. Candidates to leadership were rarely reluctant, and selection was principally by means

---

43. Baltimore Afro-American, Nov.21,1896, p.2.

44. Pittsburg Courier, Sept.14,1911, p.4.

45. Indianapolis Freeman, July 7,1906, p.4.

of white recognition, acknowledged eminence, organizational position or community status, self-appointment or opportunism. In one sense most members of the Talented Tenth designated themselves "leaders" out of the compulsion of a strong feeling of duty, but usually, even having appointed themselves, they still had to convince a wider audience of their merit. Institutions as well as individuals could take the burden upon their shoulders:-

"Howard University has assumed a new leadership, and has attained...a new conception of her mission, through aiming practically and deliberately at meeting the national demand in race leadership, and thus fulfilling her proper duty and mission as the national institution for the higher and professional education of the colored youth." <sup>46</sup>.

Selection was intimately connected with the category of leadership. Ex-officio leaders holding positions of prominence in organizations had to rise through that organization, <sup>47</sup> while persons of high status who then became leaders in a local community, first had to establish themselves in their profession or vocation. <sup>48</sup> Another group contending for recognition were experts or specialists in particular fields; although calling themselves leaders they tended neither to wield much influence nor have a large following, but their prestige had a symbolic function, representing the aspirations of many of the group. Judson W. Lyons was placed in such a position, for "The Registership of the Treasury carries with it the political primacy of the colored race in the U.S." Instead of being acknowledged as a political appointee, the recipient of patronage in return for services rendered to the Republican Party, Lyons was glorified as "Blameless in integrity, ripe in scholarship,

---

46. E.J. Scott, 'The New Howard'. Competitor, Vol.I (Jan., 1920).

47. Please see Chapter 4.

48. Local leaders were often those who were notably successful in their enterprises, rather than members of any particular profession. For example, in an article on Pittsburg, the race leaders mentioned were John T. Watt, who ran a catering business, and Captain C.W. Posey, the first black Chief Engineer, who was a stockholder in a coal business. See T.S. Ewell, 'The Smokey City; Part III', Colored American Magazine (Dec. 1901), p. 135.

vigorous in mentality, loyal to race, crowned with achievement and recognized and commanded by the strongest forces in our national life..."<sup>49</sup>. Once a man had risen to prominence, if he was respectable, (preferably to both races) he was invested with the virtues ascribed to an idealized leader.

Early in its formation the Talented Tenth rebelled against the willingness of the race to accept only those leaders forced upon them by a consensus of white opinion.<sup>50</sup> Whites were rarely able or inclined to select intra-racial leaders, but anyone with aspirations to inter-racial mediation obviously had to be acceptable to the white community. If the acclaim of prominent whites "was indispensable to any generalized leadership in the Negro world"<sup>51</sup> in the days before Marcus Garvey, there was no necessary correlation between the respect in which black leaders were held by other blacks, and their acceptance as group spokesmen by whites. Perry Howard was accepted as the political champion of the blacks by senior white Republicans, although he was scorned by his race, while Giles B. Jackson was entrusted with the "Negro Pavilion" at the Jamestown Exposition, to the utter horror of most of his race.

The criteria for white selection varied. Sometimes it would be expedient for strategic or political reasons to appoint pliable black puppets or token blacks;<sup>52</sup> sometimes ignorance of black aims or interests could lead to the mistaken elevation of an incompetent or even disreputable

---

49. Colored American, Feb.1901, pp.8 and 12.

50. Indianapolis Freeman, April 18,1896, p.4.

51. R.J.Bunche, A Brief and Tentative Analysis of Negro Leadership, Carnegie-Myrdal Research Memorandum, p.18.

52. The phenomenon of tokenism grew with the strengthening of segregation, from 1890 onwards.



black at the expense of the more responsible.<sup>53</sup> Other Afro-Americans were elevated to prestige on account of the activities of the philanthropic foundations, but such people tended to perform a valuable liason function. In the South, the white community was prone to regard the principal of the local black school, or college, or university as the titular head of the black community. All these factors were involved in some degree on different occasions, but it becomes very difficult to distinguish between those elevated because of merit, because they had a definite function to perform, or because they were useful for window-dressing purposes.<sup>54</sup>

The examples of white selection are numerous, from the most notorious of Booker T. Washington and his "Tuskegee Machine",<sup>55</sup> to many on a smaller scale. Butler R. Wilson, a Boston lawyer who came to oppose the extremism of W.M. Trotter, but who was nevertheless adamantly anti-segregation and very active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) through its Boston branch, illustrates very well the help and hindrance white support could be. Although because of his wide access to upper-class whites through the Association, he was able to do more for the coloured people than any other Afro-American in Boston, his effectiveness was considerably limited by his excessive dependence on the white leadership of the

---

53. In addressing the Bethel Literary and Historical Society, P.B.S. Pinchback remarked with reference to the white strategy of control, "It seems to be the purpose of our so-called white friends to repress anything that approaches manly independence and courageous action in defense of their own by colored men." Colored American, April 30, 1898, p.1.

54. Bunche, op.cit., p.32.

55. Please see Chapter 5.

Boston branch.<sup>56</sup> In order to protect his position and status, Wilson neither associated with the masses of blacks nor drew on them for popular support; therefore he only espoused those proposals for reform that were inoffensive to the white members of the branch. This was a problem that plagued the N.A.A.C.P. particularly in its early years, for initially it was predominantly white in its upper echelons, a composition that inhibited its becoming the mouthpiece of the black masses. Washington astutely observed how the Association had failed to draw the fine line between cooperation with whites and subservience to them that he claimed to have always at least attempted to have preserved:-

"There are a good many colored people who resent the idea of a white man assuming to lead and control the colored people...we welcome the assistance and advice of such disinterested men as Dr. Frissell, Mr. Ogden and others, but we are not ready to be taken charge of bag and baggage by any white man."<sup>57</sup>

Washington's indignation may simply have been retaliation against the charges of currying white favour so frequently levelled at him by many of those who eventually joined the N.A.A.C.P., but it does show a perception of the danger of too much overt white interference.

The whites' doubts as to whether the black man was in any way capable of self-determination were persistent and tenacious. Despite the evidence of black advance and organization, Colonel Ballou of the Des Moines, Iowa, Training Camp for Negro Officers during World War I, still felt that there was need for some more proof. Discussing the work at Des Moines, he described it as a "wonderful experiment in determining whether or not the Negro possesses qualities which will fit him

---

56. C.W. Puttkamer, William Monroe Trotter: An Evaluation of the Life of a Radical Newspaper Editor, 1901-34 (Unpublished Ms.) p.52. W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

57. B.T. Washington to E.J. Scott, Jan.16,1914. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

to lead his own race in upward progress."<sup>58</sup>.

One factor in the apparent impotence of the black leadership in asserting itself, was that it had partially internalized the doubts about its abilities that had been raised in the white press and repeated in the black. Black leaders had first of all to counteract the negative stereotypes of themselves in particular and their race in general, projected by the white media. In so doing they often fell into the trap of creating a different stereotype, by the assignation of virtues or faults to the whole group, thus confirming the conviction of many whites that all blacks were identical anyway. Basically the black leaders had little room for manoeuvre; if they could alter the black world, they certainly could not reconstruct the white one. In order to accomplish anything in the wider society they had a fundamental need of white influence and assistance, for neither as intellectuals nor as blacks could they hope to attain access to the sources of power in the United States. In particular, the Talented Tenth, whose roots were in the black experience but whose education and occupations had brought them into contact and cooperation with whites of similar status, were inclined to suffer from feelings of marginality, which critically altered their goal selection. Concomitant however with the acceptance of the sphere of operations outlined by the white world went acquiescence in the prevailing American value structure, and this value orientation had a direct bearing on their goal selection processes.

The power of philanthropy in education had two primary effects on its beneficiaries - they became imbued with the Northern ideals of middle class virtue, and they accepted the doctrines of Christianity as expounded by their missionary teachers. There were some exceptions,

---

58. 'Race Leadership for the Negro', Tuskegee Student, Aug. 18, 1917, p. 4.

most notably W.E.B. DuBois, to the rule that the pre-World War I intellectual leadership "revolved upon the pivot of religion",<sup>59</sup> but even if their religious affiliation or creeds differed from that of the masses, the appeal to the central principles was the same.

"Christianity is the profoundest and purest of all the great systems of working out the complete redemption of man; and thus it demands of its prophets the deepest discernment, fitness and piety... This is an all important matter in shaping the destiny of our race, and, hence, those who assume to march before us should be sure that they are guided by 'The true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:'"<sup>60</sup>.

Moral development was given as much priority as material, centring on the home, the church, and the school as the three main organs of disseminating this spiritual and religious awareness. The sermons of Francis J. Grimké echoed throughout Afro-America, "A God-fearing race, a race that loves righteousness and hates iniquity is sure to succeed..."<sup>61</sup>. Even those who were not conscientious church-goers themselves used such rhetoric, exhorting the people to place an unfaltering trust in the Providence of God, for God, with a little encouragement, was eventually going to open the way to full black participation in all things American.

Perhaps the assumption that pervaded the ethos and more than anything else dominated the Afro-American's thinking, was the conviction of his identity as an American. This meant that the black man had a model, by following which he could achieve his aims

"We must climb the ladder the same way that the white man climbed it centuries ago, and submit as patiently as he did to rebuffs that could not be helped at the time."<sup>62</sup>.

When put to the test of War, the Negro's loyalty was indisputable, both in 1898 and in 1917, even if it meant temporarily setting aside the

---

59. Afro-American, 29 May 1926, Clipping, K.M. Mss. H.U.

60. A.B.Walker, 'Our Negro Leaders', The Review, Vol.I (Mar.1909), Clipping C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

61. C.G.Woodson, ed., The Works of Francis J.Grimké, (Washington, D.C., 1942), pp.379-384.

62. Indianapolis Freeman, Aug.3, 1901, p.8.

black cause. Although subjected to contemporary criticism from Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph of the Messenger, the established leadership were "everywhere telling the masses of colored people to be patient....God will soften the hearts of men and make justice prevail."<sup>63</sup>

The desire for Americanization involved responsibilities too, for basically it was a right to compete in the rat-race for "the fruits and blessings sought and achieved by any other American".<sup>64</sup> At no time did blacks accept their subordinate status, as morally, ethically or legally just;<sup>65</sup> this non-acceptance of the status quo led to reactions that ranged along a spectrum from complete integration to total separation, either within completely autonomous communities in the U.S. or else by emigration overseas. Those who wanted to quit America altogether were more often visionaries than intellectuals, although Henry M. Turner and Marcus M. Garvey had ideologies and programmes that cannot be lightly dismissed. In general, the Talented Tenth were those who had, to a greater degree than most, overcome at least some of the disabilities inflicted by the American racial mores, and they were therefore more inclined to favour agitation for fulfilment in those fields where they had already made some headway. Emigrants are more likely to be drawn from the ranks of the desperate than from amongst the relatively affluent, so the Talented Tenth were predisposed to fight for their rights where they were, than to undertake to hew a Utopia out of the West coast of Africa or the swamps of Mississippi. More exposed than the lesser educated to the slogans of democracy,

---

63. Kelly Miller in the Tuskegee Student, Oct.27,1917, p.3.

64. Competitor, Vol.I. (Jan.1920), p.2.

65. D.C.Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, (Englewood Cliffs,N.J., 1962), p.19.



liberty, freedom, and equality, they intensely resented the restrictions on their full participation in American life, a participation they sought not only for themselves, but also in terms of opportunities for the rest of their race to at least attempt to attain what the Talented Tenth had already achieved.

The problem of being both an Afro-American and an American simultaneously had an inbuilt ambivalence. Having internalised the American value-system, the black subscribed therefore to the central belief in the efficacy of individualism. If, as W.S.Scarborough said, "every man is the architect of his own fortunes, be he white or black,"<sup>66</sup> there was a fundamental discrepancy between group loyalty and true Americanism, for it was logically impossible to integrate successfully as a group in a society geared to individual progress. Moreover, the Afro-American was trying to elevate himself in accordance with a strict moral code, which could be a handicap in a society that acclaimed only success, however indiscriminate.

The common denominator of the black experience was the fact of white racism, which operated on two distinct but interacting levels - the personal and the institutional. It was feasible to attack anomalies in the democratic system and expose injustices, but it was impossible to depersonalise the shock and distress of being the recipient of racial prejudice. In the short term, it was possible to set immediate goals and aims, but the long term solution really involved a total change in the outlook of the majority of white Americans. These dreams were the subject of constant frustration, for to "conquer prejudice" or to "achieve equality" were such amorphous goals that even when a minor victory was won, the final realization seemed no closer.

---

66. W.S.Scarborough, 'White vs. Black', Voice of the Negro, Vol.I, (Jan.1904), p.28.

The indeterminate nature of the ultimate aim made it the object of varying interpretations and definitions, but no matter how much their methods or secondary targets diverged, the majority of all the leaders espoused the fulfilment of the American dream and promise as their over-riding goal.

W.E.B. DuBois later looked back on his and his colleagues' unquestioning acceptance of America's belief in her own myths.

"What the white world was doing, its goals and ideals, I had not doubted were quite right. What was wrong was that I and people like me and thousands of others who might have my ability and aspiration, were refused permission to be a part of this world."<sup>67</sup>.

To others, the road to progress was straightforward.

"The race problem can be settled by a strict adherence to the constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, the Golden Rule of the Holy Bible, either any or all of them. They are the eternal principles of justice to all men, the immortal gospel of truth and righteousness."<sup>68</sup>.

Fundamentally, American law was regarded as right and just, but in need of enforcement. The way to accomplish this was to create a climate of opinion that would demand that enforcement. Without ever specifying exactly how, many black writers postulated that public opinion could be controlled,<sup>69</sup> reasserting their faith that in time not only would the American system vindicate itself, but also that the American people would live up to their ideals. The ultimate justification for the self-appointment of leaders was grounded in their role as pathfinders - they had succeeded within the American definition of success and in American conditions.

"The African here is an American by birth, education and religious belief.

67. W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Towards An Autobiography of the Race Concept (New York, 1940), p. 27.

68. Colored American, Nov. 29, 1902, p. 8.

69. Please see Chapters 3 and 10.

He takes only an American's interest in Africa and what goes on there."<sup>70</sup> Having opted to put all their eggs in the American basket, the Talented Tenth had thereby committed themselves to the aims of integration and equality, achieved by democratic means.

The intellectuals provided but one of the many contending leaderships within the black community. By no means did they exclude or supersede all the possibilities and alternatives, and certainly at local level and in an intra-racial context the churches and the lodges both had a more immediate impact on the lives and thinking of the majority. The intellectuals are however significant for their role in inter-racial organizations, in dispelling the stigma of black inferiority and in formulating the social philosophies of black progress.

The Talented Tenth was the embodiment of an ideal rather than a description of reality, but those who felt themselves to be its members continuously tried to live up to the criteria set out by W.E.B. DuBois. Simultaneously drawn from the socio-economic élite and the intelligentsia, the Talented Tenth encompassed a wide range of professions and occupations within the ethnic subcommunity, where it was firmly rooted in the social structure of the group. The Talented Tenth were pressured by force of circumstances into active leadership roles and denied the opportunity of scholarly seclusion: they recognized the responsibility to use their training for the uplift of the whole race. They believed in the prevailing American values and in the ethics of democracy, convinced that America had only to practise her democratic creed for racial injustice to disappear. They also believed that the exposure of the discrepancy between reality and theory would lead to a popular upsurge in the desire to put American national ethics into practice. Many of

---

70. T.T. Fortune, 'Race Absorption', A.M.E. Review, Vol.18, (1901-2), p.60.



the Talented Tenth undertook leadership roles, inspired by a sense of racial duty, and aware that success would always be qualified. Leadership selection encompassed a diverse range of criteria, not the least important of which was the feeling of leadership. Afro-Americans in general and the Talented Tenth in particular, believed that they could instinctively recognize leadership qualities, adding a subjective dimension to the selection of potential leaders. This was compounded by white interference, leading to two very distinctive leadership types, inter- and intra-racial. Goal selection stemmed partially from the method of leadership selection and partially from the overall philosophy of the Talented Tenth. The ultimate aim was usually the attainment of the American dream and the full promise of American life. A privileged group both educationally and economically within the black world, their primary interest was in increased opportunity rather than radical demands. At the same time, they were strongly aware of the emotions of group loyalty and racial solidarity, and despite the conditioning of their personal backgrounds, they were vitally concerned with the welfare and future of the whole race.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE TALENTED TENTH

An analysis of the social composition of the Talented Tenth is initially expedited by a description of the development of social stratification within the black subcommunity. As the latter had no leisure class at the turn of the century, it was not possible to recruit an intelligentsia from a wealthy élite, and consequently the Talented Tenth was enmeshed in the Afro-American class structure. The prime importance of social class within the subcommunity was that the higher the class status of a family, the greater access its members had to the resources of the wider community. Hence the level of support they received from it was greater, as was their ability to meet its requirements.<sup>1.</sup> Access to the larger group was both a determinant and a result of social status, which in the case of the Talented Tenth often derived from their role as inter-racial mediators.<sup>2.</sup>

Social stratification played an important role in slave society.<sup>3.</sup> The significant distinctions between those slaves who served in the house and those who laboured in the fields persisted after 1863. Those who had been free before Emancipation, generally mulattoes, tended to look down on those who had become free because of the fortunes of war. The legacy of slavery and the attitudes it had engendered, created a black class system that existed until the mass migrations during and following World War I.

In the rural South after the Civil War, as a rule freedmen acquired

- 
1. A. Billingsley, Black Families in White America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 124.
  2. A status conferring function of proximity and similarity to whites was common prior to the 1930's, which saw the advent of derogatory "white man's nigger" attitudes.
  3. This summary of the developing black class structure is drawn mainly from material presented by E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1957), pp. 273-302.

land, either by purchase or by lease, and maintained a conventional family life, so that the distinctions based on free ancestry and colour became less important. Land ownership, the stability of family life and education increasingly became the criteria of upperclass status. In the cities, the greater occupational differentiation meant that a more complex class structure developed. At first there was little relation between occupational and social status, for social stratification was based more on "moral considerations" than on income, hence it was easy to distinguish the élite from the masses.

There was a general consensus as to what was meant by these moral considerations. The first stage in the evolution of a class structure was in fact characterized by the decisive role played by these distinctions rather than by occupation or income. White ancestry and family descent were important factors in conferring upperclass status, but only operated in conjunction with other criteria. In Southern and border cities socio-economic classes were slow to emerge. Yet there was a small upperclass composed mainly of the more successful businessmen and those in the professions. On account of family background and certain personal qualities, including a light skin colour, some persons in clerical occupations had upperclass status. The middleclass was not so closely correlated with occupational status as was the upperclass, and differed from the lowerclass chiefly by its more stable family life and fuller integration into the institutional life of the Afro-American community.

A new stage in the evolution of the Negro class structure had appeared by 1914 in Boston, when four main classes based on socio-economic distinctions could be observed - a vicious, shiftless element of 10%, the rank and file of domestic servants and labourers amounting to 70%, a middleclass including waiters, pullman porters, janitors,

artisans and some professionals and small businessmen numbering 18%, and a small upperclass of 2%, of whom the majority were light complexioned, lived in superior residential districts among white neighbours and were professional or literary people of long northern residence. This process of social differentiation was accelerated by urbanization, and the potential rise of a middleclass caused much alarm to the old upperclass families. In some instances they sought refuge within the narrow circle of families with similar backgrounds or in memories of a world that had vanished, but gradually most married into or merged with those elements who through the new occupational differentiation of the Afro-American population, were reaching the top of the new class structure.<sup>4.</sup>

Segregation and discrimination in the period 1890-1920 was instrumental in creating a petit bourgeoisie of professional and businessmen almost completely dependent for their livelihood on the Negro masses. It has since become axiomatic that segregation provided a protective tariff behind which black business could flourish. This group of self-made men were generally darker skinned than the old upperclass, and less likely to be descended from the antebellum house slaves or the free people of colour, and it was this ambitious, striving new middle-class who formed the backbone of the entrepreneurial group dependent on the Negro market, which in time came to constitute not only the economic élite but the social élite as well.<sup>5.</sup>

The Talented Tenth was never coterminous with either the upper or the middle class, and was, in principle at least, open to all satisfactory comers, admission being on the grounds of proven ability and a

---

4. E.Rudwick and A.Meier, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York,1966),p.176

5. A.Meier and D.Lewis, 'History of the Negro Upperclass in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1958,' Phylon, Vol.XXVIII,(1959),p.129.

willingness to assume the responsibilities of utilizing that ability to help ameliorate the condition of the less fortunate of the race. A higher education was the most obvious entry qualification, but the peculiar difficulties besetting the race at this time often impeded attempts at continuous schooling. Many students worked their way through college, so reducing the number of hours available to them for study. Even the best scholars sometimes suffered from a fragmented education when financial or family problems were overwhelming,<sup>6</sup> and scholarships were either unforthcoming or unavailable. The wastage rate was high, sometimes as many as 80% of the freshmen intake failed to graduate,<sup>7</sup> so the self-educated man was not an uncommon phenomenon. If he accepted the values that the schools encouraged, paper qualifications were not always essential. Simultaneously, however, a formal education was a necessary prerequisite for clerical or professional employment, and further, it embodied the very substance of the American way of life. Prohibited during slavery, education was symbolic of the black man's freedom and progress, and was seen as the pathway both to eventual acceptance by the white world and to happier race relations.

Higher education was seriously hampered by the economic status of the race. While industrial schools could incorporate paid work into their curriculum, thus helping both the student and the school, this was not so easy to accomplish in a purely academic programme. Those students who needed economic security to support them during their preparatory studies, and to sustain them during the extended non-profitable pursuit of their research,<sup>8</sup> encountered really grave problems.

---

6. A relatively uninterrupted education such as that of W.E.B. DuBois was very exceptional.

7. L.R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, Vol. I. (New York, 1972), p. 72.

8. H.M. Bond, 'The Negro Scholar and Professional in America' in J.P. Davis, ed., The American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), p. 566.



But low achievement attributable to low socio-economic status was not the only aggravation with which the talented scholar had to contend. Initially, his potential was less likely to be recognized than that of his white counterpart, through the prejudice provoked by his racial identification, and because expectations of his ability were in general low. He was also less likely to be in a school that could pay special attention to his needs, or give him adequate vocational or educational guidance. His environment was often not very stimulating intellectually, while a preoccupation with racial matters could divert his attention, to the detriment of achievement in other areas.<sup>9</sup> These factors in large measure account for the paucity of black graduates, especially in the 19th century.

In the early twentieth century, the black population was markedly deficient in those characteristics which tend to increase the number of persons in professional occupations:- namely the proportion of illiteracy was 57.1% in 1890, and still as high as 30.4% in 1910; an unfavourable occupational distribution in the parental generation militated against parents visualizing their offspring in a professional capacity, while the trained members of the race could not promote education by apprenticeship methods as most were teachers or ministers.<sup>10</sup>

Any quantification of the number of graduates will only give an estimate of the potential size of the Talented Tenth, and not its actual size, for the self-taught cannot be enumerated, and those who opted for self-aggrandizement, thus abdicating from their responsibilities of racial uplift, are not included. Between 1876 and 1930, 51 doctorates were conferred on Negroes, 90% being Ph.Ds. and only 10% being

---

9. M.D.Jenkins 'Intellectually Superior Negro Youth: Problems and Needs', Journal of Negro Education, vol. XIX (1950), pp.324-7.

10. J.R.Houchins 'The Negro in Professional Occupations in the United States', Journal of Negro Education, vol.XXII (1953), p.405.



professional degrees,<sup>11.</sup> while between 1826 and 1936 a total of 31.  
43,821 Afro-Americans graduated from college or professional schools,<sup>12.</sup>  
14.7% from Northern institutions, and 85.3% from the black schools.  
The increase in numbers did not really begin until 1885, following  
which there was a steady growth until World War I, when the demands of  
patriotism or the draft board interrupted or suspended many academic  
careers. At undergraduate level, 70.9% of all degrees conferred on  
Afro-Americans were academic, and 29.1% professional. Blacks were  
educated mainly in the segregated Negro schools of the South, or the  
Universities and colleges, both state and private, in the North and  
West.

The black school as well as its students was beset by financial  
difficulty, and was the subject of much criticism. Industrial schools  
usually found that their appeals to Northern philanthropy met with a  
more generous response than did those of the colleges. The ascendancy  
of Booker T. Washington to a position, if not of absolute control to at  
least one of very powerful influence over the flow of Northern donations,  
enabled him to channel the resources towards those projects which suppor-  
ted him and which he endorsed, a manipulation which directed funds in  
favour of industrial education. The difficulty and discouragement of  
constant fund-raising, a necessity for survival as much as for growth,  
was summed up by John Hope:-

"It is one thing to love young fellows into intellectual and  
moral life, and to help them direct that life. It is another  
thing to beg for money to run an institution of learning." 13.

Throughout his presidency of Morehouse College, Hope had to endure

---

11. H.W.Greene, Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes (Boston, 1946), p.41.

12. C.S.Johnson, The Negro College Graduate (Chapel Hill, 1938), p.20.

13. J.Hope to W.T.B.Williams, July 13, 1910. W.T.B.W. Mss. T.I.

repeated frustrations as some of his best professors, lured by higher salaries, left for other fields and colleges.<sup>14.</sup>

The precarious existence of the black college had been all too vividly exemplified in 1903, after George A. Towns, a faculty member at Atlanta University, had written a letter, published in the Boston Guardian, expressing support for its editor, W.M. Trotter, who was then serving a short prison sentence for his part in the "Boston Riot". This had been a disturbance created by radical Bostonians at a meeting being conducted by Washington, on July 30, 1903, in order to express their opposition to Tuskegee's power and policies in a dramatic way. Reaction to it ranged from outrage to applause, but Robert C. Ogden expressed the disapproval which reverberated throughout those with the means to finance the black institutions:-

"The toleration of such men as Towns and DuBois is deeply injuring Atlanta University." <sup>15.</sup>

Horace Bumstead, the President of the University, talked of the "serious trouble" Towns had caused to himself and the institution. "Particularly unfortunate" were Towns' references to Washington personally, which Bumstead claimed violated the "comity of institutions". What he really meant was that by naming Washington, Towns had upset both Bumstead and the trustees, jeopardizing the trickle of funds coming Atlanta's way. He advised Towns of a minute adopted by the trustees, unanimously disavowing the letter, and saying that:-

"while they will carefully cherish and guard the spirit of academic freedom in the University, they expect the members of the Faculty scrupulously to observe the great responsibilities towards the public, sister institutions and their officers, and towards the University itself, which this freedom involves." <sup>16.</sup>

---

14. R. Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York, 1948), p. 185.

15. R.C. Ogden to B.T. Washington Oct. 26, 1903. R.C.O. Mss. L.C.

16. H. Bumstead to G.A. Towns Nov. 5, 1903; Nov. 14, 1903; Dec. 5, 1903. G.A.T. Mss. A.U. and A.U. Archives.

For the black college, the prerequisites of academic freedom were to be financial independence, but until then, it was dependent on the continued pleasure and whims of its trustees, or other benefactors.

Despite the obvious difficulties, the black colleges were strategically important. Responsible for training the future leaders of eight million people, they could become centres from which to attack the internal problems of the group itself, and also those which arose principally from external pressures.<sup>17</sup> Although they did not account for all the black graduates,<sup>18</sup> their faculties were in a position to shape and direct the attitudes and energies of the majority of black students, who would later assume prominent positions in their communities. The main aim was to inspire the students with a zeal for service and social uplift. Although black students at white institutions were likely to share these attitudes, they were not an integral part of their education, for such students tended to be isolated both from their white classmates and from the black community. This suggests the pervasiveness and acceptability of the social uplift doctrines of the Talented Tenth, which in many ways paralleled the teachings of the advocates of industrial training, who encouraged self-betterment as the way to racial and community progress.

The occupational distribution<sup>19</sup> of the Talented Tenth was of paramount importance in the structuring of their leadership role. It is not improbable that their leadership theories were so framed as to maximize their training and skills. In a survey taken in 1912 of 1000 living black graduates out of an estimated 5000 since 1823, DuBois enumerated 54% teachers, 20% preachers, 7% physicians,<sup>20</sup> 4% lawyers and

---

17. B.E.Gallacher, American Caste and the Negro College (New York, 1938) p.3.  
 18. Please see Appendix II.  
 19. Please see Appendix III.  
 20. This figure includes dentists and pharmacists, in addition to doctors.

15% business and other occupations.<sup>21.</sup> Blacks were more successful in professional and technical work than in business, and generally had better prospects in the former; but before 1890 very few Afro-Americans entered the professions.<sup>22.</sup>

School teaching was the principal profession, and helps to account for the relatively high number of Afro-American women professionals. Conditions in predominantly black schools were frequently grim with second-rate and second-hand equipment, inadequate buildings, short terms and barely subsistence salaries. Yet in spite of these drawbacks, many came into teaching seeing it as their best career opportunity. Demands for more and better education would not only greatly benefit the race, but would also provide more numerous and interesting jobs for this section of the Talented Tenth. It was basic self-preservation to increase the potential numbers of educational consumers.

The Afro-American minister had a virtually complete monopoly behind the caste wall. Negroes were more divided than whites in their religious affiliations, but tended to attend church more frequently. Basically it was the restricted openings in other fields that led so many Afro-Americans to become preachers, combined with the inapplicability of formal qualification for the preacher's function of providing a cathartic release for the emotional energy of his flock. It was more relevant for a minister to be able to convert the unbelievers than to be literate. It is important to distinguish between the majority of ministers, who although classified as "professionals" were really out-with the definition of the Talented Tenth, and the handful of outstanding

---

21. Crisis, Vol. IV (July, 1912), p. 133. Editors and newspaper men who played a conspicuous role in the Talented Tenth are apparently enumerated under "business" or a secondary occupation.

22. V. L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), p. 129. In the 1890 census of Mississippi, only 34 Afro-Americans professed to be doctors, out of a total of 300,000 gainfully employed, and there were even fewer in the legal profession, although the system of admissions used until 1880 had made entry fairly easy.

and exceptional churchmen, who, in addition to their pastoral duties, were civic leaders, theologians and social theorists.<sup>23</sup>

Until the War, it was more than likely that an Afro-American doctor had received his elementary and high school education in one of the better mission schools sprinkled throughout the South, and then gone to one of the five Southern medical schools. The number attending these schools was however reduced during World War I<sup>24</sup> by adoption of racial and religious quotas. The physician and dentist were frequently the most prestigious members of the coloured professional group, being almost invariably the best educated, and so tradition and circumstance required them to be spokesmen in local and national affairs. They were likely to be relatively affluent, but the struggle to finance their protracted training had often necessitated manual or other kinds of vacation work, thus acquainting them with the problems of all classes.<sup>25</sup> At this time the scope for a black doctor was fairly limited; he had few opportunities to specialize, even in biracial institutions. Most whites distrusted both his colour and his ability, and only patronized him to conceal diseases and pregnancies from their white friends, or when they were too poor to secure the services of an efficient white doctor. Dependent therefore on the patronage of his own race, the doctor found that the overwhelming majority of his patients were poor. Until the 1930's, some had to find additional sources of income, and many worked for insurance companies or benevolent societies, or else had investments in real estate or drug stores. The dentist's average income was lower than the doctor's, leading in some cases to the unethical

---

23. Please see Chapter 5.

24. G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), p. 321.

25. H.M. Bond, op.cit., p. 574.



practice of cosmetic dentistry.<sup>26.</sup> This declined quickly as the educational level of his patients rose.

The lawyer was the most likely of all professionals to have a white-collar family background. As the legal profession is so closely related to politics, the disfranchisement of the Negro throughout the South, and the subsequent denigration of the black man's stature in public life after 1877, sharply curtailed the opportunities for the entry of the Afro-American into the legal profession, especially in the South.<sup>27.</sup> Attempts to build up a "business practice", concentrating on civil rather than criminal law, were often frustrated, as due to their socio-economic predicament, blacks were more often in trouble with the legal authorities than in need of investment advice and company law. The prestige enjoyed by the courts in the American political and economic systems is such that any group which is struggling for status desires to be represented on the bench. The election of a judge was therefore seen as the elevation of the whole Negro group, who then became participants in the administration of justice.<sup>28.</sup>

The geographical background and intersectional mobility of the Talented Tenth is the next consideration. The heavy concentration in the Washington D.C. area was partly due to the influence of Howard University, for by staying at home, students could defray their expenses.<sup>29.</sup> It also reflects the history of black education in that area, the adequacy of the public school system, and the continuing in-migration of those seeking employment in government clerical positions or

26. Ibid., p.581.

27. Myrdal, op.cit., pp.322-325.

28. This is vividly apparent in the papers of Robert Herberton Terrell and his wife, Mary Church, in the Library of Congress.

29. G.F. Edwards, The Negro Professional Class (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), p.87.



teaching. Although Washington was and is predominantly Southern in mores and outlook, the migration of intellectuals into the city was part of a more general movement to the North. A white man, L.M. Hussey, seriously overestimated the momentum of this movement of those whom he saw as "isolated...ensnared...and embittered" to the

"interesting reversal of his (the intellectual's) Southern status. His fortunes swing from an extreme of neglect to an extreme of notoriety. Perhaps not unjustly, he is excessively lauded." 30.

The vision of a mass exodus from the South of the Talented Tenth in the hope of recognition and reward is not borne out by the figures. C.S. Johnson calculated that as late as the 1930's, that is even after the great migrations of 1915-1919, of all black college graduates, 53% lived in the Southern states, 21.6% in the border states, 22.8% in the Northern states and 2.6% in the West, which in relation to the black population was 11.7, 36.6, 21.8 and 23.1 graduates per 10,000, respectively for each region.<sup>31</sup> This compares interestingly with the figures for Tuskegee Institute, the industrial school founded by Booker T. Washington, which showed that of the Institutes 3,011 graduates by 1925, 2,034 (67.5%) were located in the South, 818 (27.1%) in the North, 76 (2.5%) in the extreme West and 83 (2.7%) in foreign countries. Most of these graduates were engaged in Smith-Hughes Vocational Work, the Agricultural Demonstration Work, or were serving as teachers in Rosenwald and County Training Schools whereby they were "able to serve their communities as leaders in carrying out the Tuskegee spirit."<sup>32</sup>

However residence is not the same as mobility, but of all Southern-born graduates 74.5% remained in the South, while 23.4% migrated to the

---

30. L.M. Hussey, 'Afro-American, North and South', American Mercury, Vol.VII (1926), pp.198-199.

31. C.S. Johnson, op.cit., p.38.

32. R.R. Moton to A.P. Stokes, April 14, 1925. A.P.S. Mss. Yale.

North, 1.1% to the West and 0.2% to foreign countries.

Northern-born graduates tended on the whole to remain in the North, but the proportion that went South is slightly greater than that of Southern-born graduates who went North. Of those born in the West, as many as two-thirds moved to either the North or the South, while about twice as many foreign-born Negroes opted for the North rather than the South.<sup>33</sup> Johnson further found that those whom he designated "leaders" (those listed in Who's Who in Colored America) were more likely to be mobile. Of the 76.7% born in the South, only 39.4% continued to live there, a discrepancy between percentage born in the South and those residing there of 37.3 for leaders, compared to 17.6 for all college graduates. These figures can only illustrate large-scale intersectional patterns; there is no data on interstate mobility within a section. In general terms, it would appear that there was more interstate migration within the North.

The other factors describing the composition of the Talented Tenth are more subjective. The sexual distribution of black professionals show that an approximately equal proportion of each sex were professionally employed - a remarkably large number of women by the standards of the day. This was largely due to the preponderance of female teachers, which by 1910 had greatly surpassed even the number of male clergymen.<sup>34</sup> One reason for the strong female representation was that more girls completed their education than did their brothers, for often the latter were obliged to leave their studies in order to earn money to support the family. There was also a significant excess of females to males in the black population. Traditionally also the black woman had

---

33. C.S. Johnson, op.cit., p.53.

34. Please see Appendix III.

been a strong, responsible figure, for it was she who had provided what family life was available during slavery. It was not a radical social innovation for her to have a career or to be self-supporting.<sup>35</sup>

It is not really possible to secure accurate data on income levels, but within the ethnic subcommunity professional and clerical workers were normally the better paid, although their salaries were usually less than those of their counterparts across the colour line. White prejudice and the poverty of their black clients combined to diminish the remuneration of those dependent on the Negro market, but salaries did vary considerably regionally, as did the cost of living.

On account of their tremendous headstart during the slavery era and their relatively high class status, the mulattoes or mixed bloods rose to positions of social prominence and leadership during Reconstruction which they retained throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, thus perpetuating their distance from the bulk of the race. As darker Negroes rose to distinction, they showed a preference for marrying lightskinned women, becoming members of the mulatto aristocracy and giving their children the heritage of a light skin colour.<sup>36</sup> The preponderance of mulattoes varies somewhat with the professions; where the practice required little training or ability, e.g. the ministry, the number of darkskinned Afro-Americans was relatively high, whereas in those pursuits which involved a higher degree of education, e.g. medicine, the number of blacks was relatively low. As a result of marriage selection, the mulatto group retained its talent and absorbed what talent there was among the black group.<sup>37</sup> Their class position enabled them more than

---

35. Please see Chapter 6.

36. Myrdal, *op.cit.*, p.697.

37. The growth of the mulatto population, 1850-1920, was due more to the intermarriage of blacks and mulattoes, than to the continuous infusion of white blood.

other Afro-Americans to provide security, stimulus and stability during their offsprings' education.

In the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, Afro-Americans reflected white attitudes to mulattoes - as superior to the blacks but inferior to the whites. They came to compose the majority of the business and professional classes, a situation accepted by the blacks who were in no position to object. It would appear that many of the Talented Tenth were of mixed ancestry. As the general population advanced in education and economic status, more of the latent talent of the race found the opportunity for expression. Success enhanced self-confidence in black children, but sheer weight of numbers meant that by the end of the War and the concomitant migrations, the mulattoes, traditionally a leadership group, were no longer able to supply the needs of the black community.

The religious denominations of the Talented Tenth are difficult to ascertain, and many intellectuals in fact rejected the church as a symbol of fantasy and an instrument of oppression. Outside the cities, and in them too, except for a few very intelligent, urbane churchmen, the minister was often providing an emotional release from their daily hardships for his congregation, rather than delivering a sermon that would relate to the experience of his more educated listeners. Although there is no direct correlation between religious denomination and intellectual status, there is a connection between social and religious mobility. As Afro-Americans ascended the social ladder, they tended to desert Baptist and Methodist Churches, and sought affiliation with Episcopalian, Congregational, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches. At the same time many professionals continued their association with the Baptist and Methodist Churches of their clients. Sometimes they maintained two church memberships -

one for social status and the other for financial advantages.<sup>38.</sup>

A brief mention must be made of the lifestyle and status of the intellectuals. Although their education and income equipped the Talented Tenth for upper or middle class status, their lifestyle patterns ought not to be confused with those of the "Black Bourgeoisie". Any attempt to augment status by conspicuous consumption<sup>39.</sup> or exploitation of the ignorance of the Negro masses could hardly be considered exemplary leadership; in fact it was the direct negation of their philosophy of self-sacrificing and virtuous example. Many of the Talented Tenth had internalized the Northern white middleclass ideas that had been so crucial to their schooling. Discretion, taste, piety and respectability were virtues regarded with great reverence, as the legacy of missionary influence or evangelical enthusiasm in the movement to educate the freedmen had diffused a white middleclass value structure throughout the recipients of its benefactions. The Talented Tenth espoused and constantly endeavoured to live up to these norms. DuBois drew a sharp contrast between those who formed the Negro aristocracy in education, wealth and general social efficiency, and those who were leaders or ideal makers in thought, work and morals.<sup>40.</sup> However all were bound together by the external pressures of colour prejudice, the factor that intensified the uncertainty of the economic status even of the élite, making it difficult for them to spare either time or energy for social reform. Those who consciously became "race leaders" in a very committed way, for example newspaper editors, organization men and

---

38. E.F. Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), p.91.

39. Ibid., part II.

40. W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (Philadelphia, Pa., 1899), pp.316-7.



some teachers and preachers, in so doing often forfeited the financial remuneration and upperclass status that would have been theirs had they concentrated solely on their personal careers.

Some people were called "leaders" by virtue of their position or eminence, but the recipient of social deference was not necessarily a leader. The high deference granted to a black professional was partially a function of the esteem for the professional occupation per se (the skill involved and the results this could produce), partially because his "deference-worthiness" increased his co-racialists self-esteem, and partially because of the absence of any other claimants to deference.<sup>41</sup> In many cases those members of the Talented Tenth who became "race leaders" to the detriment of their careers often forfeited deference. The case of Boston is well documented where by 1900

"upper class society no longer granted the protest leader the high status it granted the successful businessman."<sup>42</sup>

The decision to participate actively in race leadership was a decision consciously taken by the trained personnel. Being black in white America, it was impossible not to be racially aware, but it was a different thing altogether to become a race champion. It is only possible to sketch the pool of available skill from which the Talented Tenth could be recruited. Many opted out of such commitments, yet at the same time many heroic efforts go unrecorded. Never approaching anything like one tenth of the black population, and in fact only about one hundredth,<sup>43</sup> the Talented Tenth wielded considerable influence in opinion forming, protest leadership and mediation with the white world. It is this ultra-active role that makes the black intelligentsia so distinguished.

---

41. E.A.Shils, The Basis of Social Stratification in Negro Society. Carnegie-Myrdal Research Memorandum, Schomburg Collection.

42. A.C.Hill, The Negro Upper-class in Boston=Its Development and Social Structure, (Ph.D.Radcliffe, 1952), pp.84-116.

C.W.Puttkamer, William Monroe Trotter (Unpublished Ms.), p.30.W.M.T.Mss.B.U.

43. Please see Appendix III.



Entry into the Talented Tenth was therefore confined to those who could fulfil both objective and subjective criteria. Distinguished from the upper or middle classes, the formation of the Talented Tenth was nevertheless part of the history of social stratification within the black subcommunity. The most pressing qualification was educational, and the Talented Tenth, although preferring those with formal qualifications, still accepted the self-taught and those who were willing to learn. Black colleges instilled in their students a fervent sense of duty to the race, an emotion in which those educated at Northern, white institutions concurred. Most of the Talented Tenth were employed as teachers, which partially accounts for the stress on the value of education; the next largest group were the churchmen, followed by journalists, doctors and lawyers. Leadership accrued to professionals but was not their exclusive preserve; it often devolved upon the eminent local personalities who could be businessmen, clerical workers, policemen or pullman porters. Numerically the Talented Tenth were stronger in the South, if more vociferous in the North; they lived and worked with the bulk of their race. The sexual distribution was approximately equal, and income levels, although not comparable to those of whites, were comparatively high within the black world, allowing for an upper or at least middle class standard of living. Intra-racial colour differentiation was also a factor; especially in the pre-World War I era, mulattoes had a distinct advantage over blacks. Although there were striking exceptions, the predominant contemporary impression of the Talented Tenth was of a mulatto caste. Religious affiliation was not really an important criterion for membership of the Talented Tenth, except that it was a factor in more general social mobility. In addition to educational, income and professional expertise, what really distinguished the Talented

Tenth was its ideology. Miniscule in size, but wedded to a philosophy of self-sacrifice for the good of the race, the Talented Tenth set themselves up for the race to emulate as examples of righteous living. The upper or middle class black had to take a conscious decision on his life-style, and by no means all opted for the leadership role the Talented Tenth ascribed to itself. Some however, because of their local eminence could not do otherwise, even if they totally lacked interest in racial leadership. For these reasons it is impossible to enumerate strictly the Talented Tenth; it is only possible to demonstrate the objective criteria and the subjective preferences which had to coincide, before any individual felt that he was, indeed, a member of the Talented Tenth.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION

The fundamental problem of the black leader was to resolve the problems confronting the race, both those caused by racism, and those of a more general socio-economic nature, while facilitating the race's adjustment to American conditions. The leaders ought ideally to have been able to sense and focus public opinion, a task dependent on their communication and identification with the masses.

The first hurdle the leaders had to overcome was in living up to the expectations of omnicompetence that were ascribed to them. Once distinguished in a particular field, the leader was then consulted on all the group's problems:- social, economic, legal and spiritual. This was particularly true of the pastorate,<sup>1</sup> but other professionals suffered from it to a considerable extent.

"A lawyer, a doctor, a teacher, a preacher or a businessman today among Negroes is more than his particular vocation. The teacher is a preacher. The physician teaches and preaches. Thousands of questions bearing not at all on their business are put to these men and women, and on their answers depends the weal or woe of the community. A Negro may specialize, but he must know many things first, for he is a leader. How to vote, how to invest money, give an explanation of original sin, prescribe a remedy for consumption, are questions that may be put to any Negro who lays claim to knowledge; and if he cannot answer them, who can? for often he is the only light in his community."<sup>2</sup>

Such an image of prowess placed a certain strain on the individual so endowed, for any shortcomings in areas where he was unprepared cast doubt and discredit on his whole sphere of operations. The leaders were treading a treacherous path, trying to fulfill their followers expectations by being latter-day "Renaissance men." The disillusion that comes on the discovery that the idealized are merely human after

---

1. S.N.Brown, My Own Life Story (Washington, D.C., 1944), p.27.

2. Speech at Detroit, 1899, quoted in R.Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York, 1948), p.136.

all was summed up by H.H. Proctor. He suggested that as well as an overdependence on whites and a misplaced faith in the efficacy of law, the efforts to solve the race problem had so far failed because of this

"Reliance on our leaders to work out our problems for us. But leaders never solve the problem; they can only point the way."<sup>3</sup>

Sociological theorists have suggested that too much intelligence or education can militate against leadership, for not only are there different speech and vocabulary patterns, but differences in interests, goals and activities can also be barriers to joint participation.<sup>4</sup> In general terms, the role of the intellectual few is usually to identify and analyse grievances, and create enough discontent or restlessness among the masses so as to give the formal leadership positive aims. The case of the Talented Tenth does not fit readily into this scheme, as the intellectual few and the formal leadership were usually interchangeable. In minority groups the situation can be complicated by the paradoxical phenomenon of the "leader from the periphery".<sup>5</sup> Intellectuals or other élite groups are accused of leading a group they are in fact only lukewarm towards, or even which they are fundamentally eager to leave. With particular reference to the criticism of the Talented Tenth, such condemnations, although common, are a little unfair.

The classical denunciation of the black intellectual was penned by Carter G. Woodson,<sup>6</sup> who was himself a very prominent intellectual, being one of the foremost historians of the black experience. He

---

3. H.H. Proctor, Between Black and White (Boston, 1925), pp. 177-8.

4. E.E. Jennings, An Anatomy of Leadership (New York, 1966), pp. 149-155.  
W. Record, 'Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community', British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8., (1957), p. 245.

5. K. Levin in A.W. Gouldner, Studies in Leadership (New York, 1950), p. 193.

6. C.G. Woodson, The Miseducation of the Negro (Washington, D.C., 1933).

claimed that the "educated Negroes" held an attitude of contempt toward their own people, because not only in mixed but also in black schools, they were taught to admire things Hebrew, Greek and Latin and despise the African. Having been Europeanized, or Americanized, on the point of leaving his alma mater, the graduate was told by his teachers that his duty was to go back among his own people, "from whom he had been estranged by a vision of ideals, which in his disillusionment, he will realize that he cannot attain".<sup>7</sup> Taught and trained with a Caucasian bias, the educated black was not however able to withdraw completely from the rest, on whom he had to depend for carrying out his programme of progress, and with whom he had often to live where the segregation ordinances deprived him of residential choice.

The need for leadership is simultaneously the symbol and the admission of oppression, and none were more aware of this than the Talented Tenth themselves. Education was not in itself a guarantee of social mobility, but it was a great advantage and was definitely associated with the upperclasses. It is fair to assume that some upwardly-mobile blacks would display the snobbery of the *nouveaux-riches*, in distancing themselves from the rest of their race, but again it becomes necessary to distinguish between the Talented Tenth and the "Black Bourgeoisie". Whatever the idiosyncracies of the latter, the former were committed to forsake their social aspirations for the sake of the common good. The line between the two groups has become blurred, both in contemporary comment and in historical criticism, to the detriment of the Talented Tenth.

Contemporary attempts to distinguish between social and economic élites, and intellectuals, were hardly ever made, and the three groups were branded together into an amorphous unit, described as "the best

---

7. Ibid., p.6.



people" or "the upper classes". Numerically, even when counted together, these groups were very small, but they inter-acted increasingly frequently at parties and social events, or in organizations. Undoubtedly however, they knew themselves the difference between the old social and the new economic classes, and the intellectuals and race leaders, who were entertained by the former more out of deference to their eminence than to their income. The press in particular were responsible for the confusion:-

"We have noticed with very much pain, that as fast as many of our 'best people' attain to such an eminence as to be reckoned the 'best' that their practical interest and sympathy for the struggling members of the race become more and more extinct and inoperative."<sup>8</sup>.

The intellectuals condemned those of their number who appeared to "desert their kind and dwell apart from the masses",<sup>9</sup> but it did become difficult for the inter-racial leaders to keep in close touch with the people. Washington, for example, found that the more he was accepted into the wealthiest homes in the country, the more remote he became from the black community,<sup>10</sup> despite his protestations and attempts to the contrary. Claude McKay, the Jamaican poet who came to the U.S. and emerged as one of the most famous figures of the Harlem Renaissance, recorded his attempts to keep his literary endeavours from his pullman porter workmates, for fear of ridicule or ostracism:-

"None of them knew that I was a scribbler. If they did, instead of being just one of them, 'pal' or 'buddy', they might have dubbed me 'professor'."<sup>11</sup>.

This awareness on the part of the Talented Tenth of black anti-intellectualism goes some of the way towards explaining the apparent lack of

---

8. Baltimore Afro-American, August 17, 1895, p.2.

9. Colored American, March 26, 1898, p.6. Report of an address by Professor G.N. Grisham to the A.N.A.

10. G.R. Metcalfe, Black Profiles (New York, 1968), p.65.

11. C. McKay, A Long Way from Home (New York, 1970), p.5.



cooperation between the race organizations and those whom they claimed to represent. Summing up the period, F.H.M. Murray said:-

"so far as experience goes, 'the race' does not 'react' very strongly to efforts of the would-be scholarly sort in their behalf."<sup>12</sup>.

Timothy Thomas Fortune was among the more vitriolic commentators on this subject, for he was prepared to fix the blame fairly and squarely on the masses:-

"The difficulty has not been and is not now in the leadership but in the following, because we have had and we have now resourceful and courageous leaders. The race has refused and it now refuses to follow any leadership; it is an undisciplined mob which has not learned how to obey and therefore cannot be commanded."<sup>13</sup>.

His disappointment was bitter over the demise of the National Afro-American Council (N.A.A.C.) which had "never commanded the sympathy and support of the masses of the people."<sup>14</sup>. Rather than suggesting a reappraisal of the leadership's goals or strategies, Fortune's passages in the Age imply that the Talented Tenth felt that the masses were singularly ungrateful for the sacrifices being made on their behalf; they also imply that the leadership envisaged itself in a quasi-dictorial role, a relationship founded on obedience rather than persuasion.

This indifference can be accounted for at two levels of communication, primarily at the level of method, namely dialect, oratory or the written word, and secondly at the level of content. Whereas the worker was principally concerned with the problems of employment and survival, the intellectual, whose survival was reasonably secure, would agitate for the symbols of dignity. This indifference was further seen as another justification for the Talented Tenth to take the burden of

12. F.H.H.Murray to G.W.Forbes, June 10,1919. G.W.F.Mss. B.P.L.

13. New York Age, April 19,1906, p.2.

14. T.T.Fortune in B.T.Washington,ed., The Negro Problem, p.216.

leadership upon its shoulders. Fortune, angered that the time, money and enthusiasm invested in the N.A.A.C. had not borne fruit in terms of concrete results, asserted that it was not up to the leaders but to the followers to change:

"The intellectual Afro-American has done what he could to create and sustain the League and Council and Niagara Movement, but the mass of the race have done nothing to create or sustain either...and the mass of the people and not the intellectual part of it are responsible for it. A stream can rise no higher than its source, and a handful of intellectual and devoted people cannot drag an inert, indifferent and stupid mass against its will to its proper place in the civil, political and economic life of the Republic. It must do it of its own free will and effort."<sup>15</sup>.

Precisely because the masses were not yet ready or able to take up the cudgels of their own defense, the more enlightened few were obliged to, even if it was a seemingly impossible task. Like his colleagues, Fortune never appreciated the need to sell his policies to an unenthusiastic public. Instead the Talented Tenth all felt that their aims and the necessity for their organizations were so self-evident that they had neither need nor obligation to explain themselves. As they had a duty to lead, it was the logical corollary that the others had a duty to follow, and any reluctance on the part of the latter was due to their lack of enlightenment, not to any shortcomings of the leadership. They also valued their role as intermediaries between the races, where again they felt that what they were doing was so obviously in the interests of the race that no member of that race should question it. It is this primary failure in the communications between the leaders and the led that accounts for the divergent aims of the two groups, when and if they were divergent, and not any assumptions of social superiority on the part of the intellectuals. It was a failure to comprehend the nature of leadership in a democratic society, not a deliberate rejection of the interests of their following.

---

15. New York Age, Oct.11,1909, p.1.

The privileged were constantly exhorted to preserve their black heritage and identity, for "life tenure of leadership is only possible to him who is in constant touch with the people."<sup>16</sup>. This was an ideal shared by both the industrial schools and the institutions of higher learning. Dr. Moton issued a warning to Hampton students not to forget the brothers and sisters whom they had left

"back yonder in the backwoods, off the railroad and steamboat lines, in cabins and on farms... We forget, but in the name of God don't ever forget the people who have not had the chances and privileges and blessings that God has given you and me."<sup>17</sup>.

The problem of those who lived in the backwoods was indeed imposing, for the very fact of distance from the community centres compounded all the problems of education and uplift. Spatial separation was not a factor in the cities to the same extent, for the restrictive covenants and segregation ordinances of the early twentieth century obviated the possibility of the more affluent moving out to the suburbs, or differentiating themselves geographically or residentially from the rest. Studies such as those undertaken by Drake and Cayton in Chicago, show that instead of having closeknit middleclass or upperclass areas, the black community tended to have middleclass buildings in all areas, or a few middleclass blocks here and there.<sup>18</sup>.

But residential proximity did not ensure mutual sympathy; closer understanding could only be insured through social or institutional channels, but church or societal affiliation was often determined along

---

16. Indianapolis Freeman, August 7, 1896, p.6.

17. Tuskegee Student, June 29, 1918. Report of address in Cleveland Hall Chapel, Hampton Institute, on April 28, 1918.

18. St.C.Drake and H. Cayton, Black Metropolis (London, 1946), p.660.



class lines. DuBois was censured as:-

"He was so very exclusive in his conduct that he did not affiliate with any church or attend any Sunday school. He had nothing to do with the social life of his race."19.

To confuse agnosticism with aloofness is doing DuBois an injustice, but his introverted ways did give rise to many misunderstandings, reinforcing the stereotype of the intellectual snob. He himself ruefully admitted to Joel E. Spingarn his apparent lack of communication with the majority of ordinary mortals:-

"...a mistake I often make, of not emphasizing the facts that are so clear to me that I wrongly assume that they are clear to others...what I fear is that the little criticisms and annoyances and interferences will spoil the big result."20.

Thus by not taking the time to explain his vision to his constituency, DuBois risked alienating himself from those for whom he claimed to speak. Perhaps the saddest case of a voice crying in the wilderness was the tragedy of William Monroe Trotter, who was

"murdered, done to death, not by those he fought but by those for whom he fought. He was a martyr to a cause. He wanted freedom and manhood rights for colored Americans, but they did not want freedom and manhood rights for themselves."21.

Trotter's efforts centred on obtaining enough support for his paper from the race to make it self-supporting, but lack of this support, unsound business methods, and an idealistic but impractical policy on advertising, (he refused to carry lucrative liquor propaganda) made his struggle comparable to the task of "making bricks without straw".22.

19. Atlanta Independent, reprinted in Pittsburg Courier, Dec.18,1910,p.4.

20. W.E.B. DuBois to J.E. Spingarn, Oct.28,1914. J.E.S. Mss. Yale.

21. Cleveland Gazette, May 26,1934, p.1. Clipping in W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

22. Franklin to J.E. Bruce, no date, J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

The necessity of making an all-out effort to communicate was becoming apparent to the Talented Tenth. The very vastness and diversity of the United States further fragmented an already very scattered and diffuse group, although the intellectuals were such a small group that they knew each other at least by name, so that when they travelled they could obtain letters of introduction to their counterpart in a strange place. This way they both made and maintained contact with each other, while obviating any possible humiliation in trying to secure hotel rooms or travelling accommodations. They therefore intermeshed at a social level, but when it came to transmitting new ideas or propaganda, or mobilizing protest, there were very real difficulties. There were no newspapers, white or black, that had a truly national circulation, and although copies of various periodicals percolated all over the country, they often concentrated on regional or local interests. The effect of an address in the spoken word, no matter how dramatic or oratorical, although it might be reprinted for wider circulation, really only reached the immediate auditors, compounding the problem of nationwide coverage.

Of course the fact of having a message printed or proclaimed was no guarantee of impact. Bishop Warren A. Chandler pinpointed the problem:-

"The majority will never see what is printed in this paper, or in any other paper; some who see it will not read it, and some who read it will not heed it."<sup>23</sup>

Even some of those who could read had a limited perspective and comprehension, for DuBois revealed that bare literacy could not cure the effects of generations of cultural deprivation, whose result was:-

---

23. Voice of the Negro, Vol.II (Jan.,1905),p.671.



"ignorance of the world and its meaning, of modern economic organization, of the function of government, of industrial worth and possibility...."<sup>24</sup>.

Attempts were made to reach the masses through popular magazines: the introductory editorial in the Half-Century Magazine specifically denied any ambitions to make the magazine a "literary gem" to gratify the "high-brows"; rather it aimed to present its facts in plain, common-sense language that the masses could read and understand.<sup>25</sup>.

The language of communication was the next crucially limiting factor. It can reasonably be assumed that those intellectuals who came from a Southern, rural background might have been diglossic in the local dialect and Standard English. There is no way of measuring this however; the bulk of the written prose from the period is in Standard English, presumably all addresses to mixed audiences and conversations with whites, except when using dialect to please whites, were in Standard English, and most Northern blacks had had little if any contact with dialect. While a black, working-class audience would have understood the speech of the educated, it conceivably would have responded more instinctively to someone who spoke as they did, but could conversely have reacted negatively against someone suspected of assuming a condescending or artificial accent. The nature of speech can intensify urban/rural or class divisions, but to what extent this was operative in the pre-War black community is a matter of hypothesis. J.D. Corrothers throws some light on the difficulties in his autobiography. Proud of his Northern heritage of an "atmosphere of pure speech and the advantages of superior training", he admits that:-

---

24. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Negro As He Really Is', World's Work, Vol. 2, (June, 1901), p. 858.

25. Half-Century Magazine, Vol. I, (Aug., 1916), p. 3.

"as a public man and minister, I have often regretted my lack of early contact with the masses of my race. I have been at the disadvantage of having to learn their moods and methods by thought and experience, or as an observer, instead of knowing things intuitively, as one would who grew up among them."<sup>26</sup>.

Negro dialect symbolized the tension in every black intellectual between the psychological need for closer racial identification, and the white-ward orientation that resulted from their training and outlook. Integrationist sentiment proscribed the use of dialect until it became fashionable; even then it was a literary vehicle of restricted application rather than a new speech form. Corrothers explains:-

"I had always detested the Negro dialect as smacking too much of 'niggerism' which all intellectual colored people detest. But, with the advent of Dunbar, in whose stories and poems Negro dialect attained a new dignity and beauty..."<sup>27</sup>.

He realized that here was a medium he could exploit. This vogue for dialect was more a commercial phenomenon than a demonstration of ethnic loyalty, and did more to introduce black dialect in a respectable way to whites than to increase communication within the black subcommunity. It is possible also on the other hand, that a Standard English accent in a small, rural, Southern community may have acted to increase the deference-worthy function of the race leader, by the very fact of emphasizing his education and so differentiating him.

The major barrier to widespread communication was the nature and extent of black illiteracy,<sup>28</sup>. In 1910, despite a marked decrease from 57.1% in 1890, 30.4% of the adult black population were still illiterate, the majority of whom both proportionately and numerically were concentrated in the Southern states. (37.2% of the total population, as

---

26. J.D. Corrothers, In Spite of the Handicap (New York, 1916), pp. 19-20.

27. Ibid., p. 137.

28. Please see Appendix IV; Crisis, Vol. I. (1911) p. 16.

opposed to 11.5% in the North and 6.7% in the West). The illiterates were found mainly in rural areas, or in towns with a population of less than 25,000, and were predominantly in the higher age periods, a reflection of the history of black education. As well as those who were officially classified as illiterate, there were many who were functionally illiterate, either through lack of practice of the skills of reading and writing, or because their education had been inadequate, even although they had the official minimum of school attendance. These people could only be reached by the spoken word, through public addresses or the pulpit. To the residentially isolated, the location of the meeting was often too distant, as they did not have ready access to the community centres or schools. Benjamin J. Davis records that his Uncle John, a carpenter, whose life spanned the century 1852-1952,<sup>29</sup> had never seen a school. This meant that the Talented Tenth, if they wanted to reach the masses, had to take to the road on speaking tours, go out on practical extension work in the remote areas, following the example of T.H. Campbell and G.W. Carver of Tuskegee,<sup>30</sup> or else refrain from alienating the non-intellectual clergy if they wished to use the church as a forum for the propagation of their views.

Church halls were one of the most commonly used meeting places, both for addressing members of the congregation, and for such intellectual meetings as those of the Bethel Literary and Historical Society.<sup>31</sup> Speakers came from national organizations to explain the aims of their association, others came on fund-raising tours to collect money for

---

29. B.J.Davis, Communist Councilman from Harlem (New York, 1969), p.23.

30. T.M. Campbell, The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer (Tuskegee, 1936).

31. J.W. Cromwell, History of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association (Pamphlet, 1896). B.L.H.A. Mss. H.U.

schools or other worthy institutions, and still others came by invitation because of their fame. Public speaking could be fairly lucrative,<sup>32.</sup> and in the cities as well as the country-side it was a popular form of public entertainment. The most organized speakers' bureaux were controlled by the women's organizations, but after 1910 by the N.A.A.C.P. The Department of Publicity and Research of the latter not only published the Crisis, distributed articles to the white and black press and printed the Association's publications, it also arranged for speakers to travel about the nation explaining the purposes of the Association and recruiting members.

An amazing number of persons were contacted in this way, and DuBois, who was Director of the Department, meticulously recorded the size, and sometimes the composition of the audiences. 41 lectures took place between November 15, 1910, and March 1, 1911, 17 before white audiences, 16 before coloured audiences, and 8 before mixed audiences, an aggregate of 16,000 persons. These talks took place in New York, (11), New Jersey, (3), The East, (9), The West, (16) and The South, (3).<sup>33.</sup> In 1911, this swelled to 99 audiences of 35,000 persons addressed by DuBois personally,<sup>34.</sup> and in the first month of 1912, he spoke at thirteen different places between Boston and Washington, D.C.<sup>35.</sup> During 1912, the total dropped to 72 lectures to 25,467 auditors, but work had begun on securing a list of speakers with their subjects, and a campaign was

---

32. Mary Church Terrell was offered \$100 an engagement for a speaking tour of the West. M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

33. Minutes, Board of Directors, N.A.A.C.P. Report of Department of Publicity and Research. Feb.7,1911. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

34. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors. Jan.4,1912. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

35. Minutes, Board of Directors, Feb.6,1912. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

started to arrange appointments for them in the colleges, before civic bodies, trade unions, churches and conferences.<sup>36</sup> These efforts had secured 1,100 members in 11 branches, but Crisis was by this time supplying the long-felt want for a national periodical by being sold in every state in the Union, and also in several foreign countries (which DuBois did not specify). An active staff of 500 agents brought the circulation for December 1912 to 24,000, and the Department diverted its attention gradually more towards the Crisis and less towards the organization of speakers. Nonetheless, the 72 lectures held during 1913 had the increased total of 41,000 auditors, and although at the time no individual tallies were reported for 1914 and 1915, by the end of that year DuBois claimed that in the five years of the Association's existence, his department had organized 314 lectures in 31 states and 3 foreign lands, before 138,017 auditors.<sup>38</sup> The Annual Meeting in 1916 declared that "Publicity" was one of the chief functions of the Association, and that incessant propaganda had been carried on by means of "meetings, hearings, speeches, lecture tours, newspaper stories, pamphlets, articles and books."<sup>39</sup> In the early days of the Association, lectures had been almost the only means of popular publicity. With the increase in the number of branches and literacy, they became less necessary, and an enlarged travelling force lifted the burden from DuBois personally, who declared in 1919 that he proposed to do very little

---

36. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan.21,1913; Meeting, April 4,1912. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

37. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan.5,1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

38. Minutes, Meeting, Board of Directors, Dec.13,1915. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

39. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan.3,1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.



lecturing of the propaganda variety in future.<sup>40.</sup> By the end of the War, the public lecture, which only a decade earlier had been an essential medium of communication, was virtually anachronistic. Oratory was not dead, as Marcus Garvey was proving in Harlem, but newer and better techniques of disseminating information were available, and more exciting forms of public entertainment substantially reduced the appeal of the lecture.

Pamphlets and books reached the narrowest audience of all, for their circulation depended not only on a literate clientele, but also on a readership that was both willing and financially able to buy them. The varying quality of the available literature was yet another obstacle. Bruce Grit, never the kindest of commentators, condemned the opportunistic nature of some black writers:-

"Many books written hastily by Negroes will be short-lived, because they are not written for the future but for the present. The lack of discrimination displayed by the average Negro author of alleged histories of the race is the curse of Negro bookmaking."<sup>41.</sup>

Few intellectuals were liable to admit that the quality of their work

---

40. Minutes, Meeting, Board of Directors, July 11, 1919. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C. At this meeting, DuBois gave his personal tally of lectures. Although he had been lecturing for 20 years in the U.S. and Europe, his activities during his connection with the N.A.A.C.P. were:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Lectures</u>	<u>Auditors</u>
1911	99	35,000
1912	72	25,467
1913	56	41,000
1914	50	21,750
1915	37	14,800
1916	30	13,000
1917	24	12,000
1918	33	15,000
1919(6 months)	33	20,000
	<u>424</u>	<u>198,017</u>

DuBois gave his total of lectures for 1913 as 56 in 1919, whereas he had reported 72 in 1914. The correct total of lectures is 434.

41. Colored American, June 4, 1898, p.1.

was the reason for its narrow circulation. Naturally they recognized that books by or about blacks were limited in their appeal, unless very exceptional,<sup>42</sup> but that did not preclude irritation with a face that failed to patronize their efforts. One reason was that the "reading habit in our (black) people after they leave school"<sup>43</sup> had not yet taken hold, but another was the attitude of many blacks towards books. A somewhat Puritanical attitude drained the pleasure out of reading as a pastime or solace; discussing Rev. Frank O. Hall's address to the Boston Literary and Historical Association on "The Companionship of Books", Mr. Trotter thought

"that while it is well to have original thoughts, it is better to have thoughts worth-while; that while he has never felt the need of reading books for amusement, he had read them for the refinement they give."<sup>44</sup>

The Chicago Broad-ax bemoaned the fact that it had failed to discover

"any good or wholesome books or other solid literature in the homes of the wealthy or representative Afro-Americans residing in Chicago."

Bent on the acquisition of status symbols and the material insignia of social mobility, both of which in the opinion of the Broad-ax showed a lack of taste and race pride, these people had failed to comprehend that:-

"good books impart an air of culture and refinement into homes which cannot become a part of those homes in any other manner."<sup>45</sup>

Merging into Trotter's Puritanism were now elements of lament for the

42. In this period the works of both Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Charles Waddell Chesnutt were purchased by both races.

43. B.T. Washington to Olivia E. Phelps Stokes, May 4, 1897. Phelps Stokes Family Mss. Yale.

44. Minutes, Boston Literary and Historical Association, Jan. 13, 1902. W.H.T. Mss. B.U.

45. Chicago Broad-ax, Aug. 14, 1905, p.1.

immediate commercial prospects for black literature, and of contempt for the social and intellectual mores of the newer, rising middleclass.

In order to rectify this various "buy-a-book" movements were launched. The Horizon saw this in pragmatic terms:-

"The more books we buy, the more books written to our liking will be published for others to buy and ponder".<sup>46.</sup>

By guaranteeing sales, the editors hoped to be able to project more pro-Negro literature onto the market, some of which they no doubt intended to produce themselves. Other sponsors had vaguer but more idealistic motives; Dr. R.R. Wright, editor of the Christian Recorder, planned "to stimulate interest in Negro literature",<sup>47.</sup> but failed to explain just how he proposed to carry out his objectives. As in the case of the public meetings, it fell to the N.A.A.C.P. to organize in an effective way the promotion of black literature in pamphlet and book form.

In addition to the official work of the organization, certain Board members took initiatives. Mary White Ovington took it upon herself to propose to the other Directors that those of them who had written books should advertise them in Crisis during August and September, the months when the magazine "was always hardest up". This arrangement would be mutually advantageous to the magazine, the Association and the authors.<sup>48.</sup>

The report of the Program Committee <sup>suggested that there should be</sup> linked with the publication of Crisis and pamphlets, the establishment of a Bureau of Information to release unbiased information on all questions pertaining to blacks.<sup>49.</sup>

---

46. Horizon (April, 1907), p.6.

47. Journal and Guide (Norfolk), Dec.2, 1916, p.4.

48. M.W.Ovington to C.E. Russell, May 21, 1914. C.E.R. Mss. L.C.

49. Minutes, Executive Committee, Board of Directors, Jan.5, 1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

Such tasks became the remit of DuBois and his Department, but because of the nature of the N.A.A.C.P., such propaganda was disseminated to a bi-racial audience. A concerted effort yielded the following early results:- articles for the Christian Endeavor, World and the Forecast; 3 letters to newspapers; 3 articles to press associations; 1 novel accepted by A.C. McClurg and Co.; and offerings to Everybody's, Outlook, World's Work and Success.<sup>50</sup> During the next three years the work was reported in very general terms, until DuBois completed a volume on The History of the Negro Race for Henry Holt and Co., and the study of Negro morality for the Slater Fund and Atlanta University.<sup>51</sup> A study of Negro masonry by G.W. Crawford was undertaken in 1914,<sup>54</sup> and by 1915 the sum total of the department's work was most impressive. Not only had the Crisis become self-supporting with a circulation of 34,000 copies a month, but six larger pieces of research and several smaller ones had been produced, 6 books and large pamphlets aggregated 1,210 pages, while in addition to 33 magazine articles, small pamphlets and a number of newspaper letters, there were 14 manuscripts still unpublished. The three books published by the Crisis aggregated 427 pages and sold 5,000 copies, while 8 pamphlets and leaflets had been successfully handled.<sup>53</sup> After 1916, DuBois concentrated more on the Crisis itself, at the request of the Association. Joel E. Spingarn, paying tribute to the extraordinary productivity and achievements of DuBois, insisted that the Association would profit by having at its disposal a larger share of the time of its most highly paid official, for although his work had done much to effectively stimulate interest

---

50. Minutes, Board of Directors, Feb.7,1911. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

51. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan.5,1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

52. Minutes, Board of Directors, Sept.1,1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

53. Minutes, Board of Directors, Dec.13,1915. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

in the cause, it had only indirectly affected the Association, which was after all, footing the bill.<sup>54.</sup>

The most important agent of communication within the black sub-community was the black press. A study conducted in 1920-1921 confirmed that the assertions often made by newspaper men were valid, namely that the entire literate portion of the race read newspapers, and that each paper sold had an average of five readers.<sup>55.</sup> The combined circulation of black periodicals and newspapers had probably passed the million mark by 1920, distributed between 220 newspapers and 83 religious, 45 fraternal, 80 college and 31 miscellaneous periodicals,<sup>56.</sup> a total of 239, in all but ten states. Newspapers were usually operated by men who were emotionally challenged to help their people, or by those who wanted to create a job for themselves.<sup>57.</sup> Performing a largely supplemental function in the newspaper world, black periodicals were almost without exception weeklies or monthlies. They sought to inform blacks of events in the black world, or to educate blacks on how they might better relate to the American social order, and some also endeavoured to enlighten whites on the achievements of distinguished blacks or the refinements of Negro society. The coloured press was unanimous in their denunciation of bias in the white press, and in praise for themselves as an instrument of racial advance.<sup>58.</sup> The Indianapolis Freeman wholeheartedly endorsed the Colored American's assertion that:-

"The Negro newspaper is the black man's only forum where an impartial hearing is guaranteed. It is safe to say that the present prosperity of the race, civil, politically and

---

54. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan. 3, 1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

55. F.G. Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States (Chicago, 1922), p. 11.

56. Ibid., p. 2.

57. V.V. Oak, The Negro Newspaper (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1948), p. 125.

58. G.J. Fleming, The Negro Press. Carnegie-Myrdal Research Memorandum.



otherwise, is due more to that agency than any other since the Emancipation of the race."<sup>59</sup>.

A dominant feature of the black press was the parochial nature of its contents. In 1895, no black newspaper had nationwide circulation, although papers like the Chicago Defender and the Baltimore Afro-American would later fill this void.<sup>60</sup> Periodicals were more widely dispersed, but distribution difficulties often rendered an unfortunate time-lag between the time of printing and the time of reading. Their circulation still tended to be regional rather than national. The Talented Tenth were aware of this obstacle to their national unity and effectiveness, but they differed as to how to rectify the situation. DuBois felt he had an answer:

"Only united effort can save us from being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education & long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves & of their neighbors, interpret news of the world to them & inspire them towards definite ideals."

On the other hand, Charles Chesnutt felt that "what the Negro needs more than anything else is a medium through which he can present his case to white people, who are after all, the arbiters of his destiny." This would have meant a repudiation of the current standards, whereby:-

"most of them (the newspapers) are mediums for hair-straightening advertisements and the personal laudation of "self-made men" most of whom are not so well made that they really ought to brag about it."<sup>61</sup>.

---

59. Indianapolis Freeman, Feb.10,1900.

60. R.C. Ransom, The Pilgrimage of Harriet Ransom's Son (Nashville),p.161.

61. W.E.B. DuBois to J. Schiff, April 14,1905, in H.Aptheker, ed., The Papers of W.E.B. DuBois, Vol.I, Correspondence (Amherst, 1973),pp.108-9. C.W.Chesnutt to W.E.B. DuBois, 1903, in H. Aptheker, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol.I, (New York,1951), pp.488-9.

The task of the newspaper editor at the turn of the century was complicated by the absense of a colored press agency, but by 1912 most editors had overcome this difficulty, moving away from a situation where "a race paper depended on clippings from the daily newspapers and such local news as folks were gracious enough to send in".<sup>62.</sup> However as late as 1916 there was no "bureau of competent writers whose business it would be to furnish the news unprejudiced and unvarnished to the world."<sup>63.</sup> (The black press assumed that its version of events was by definition "unbiased".) Realizing this, the N.A.A.C.P. organized its own system, mailing to all colored and to selected friendly white papers, a clip sheet from "The Crisis", which appeared simultaneously with the issue of the magazine.<sup>64.</sup> This partially explains how the N.A.A.C.P. came to dominate news coverage among the inter-racial betterment organizations - the efficiency of its propaganda machine was as responsible as were its achievements.

It was not however a new idea for a racial organization to maintain a literary bureau. The Afro-American Council had organized such an agency, in an attempt to provide information for both the black and the white press. In order to supply both races with suitable information, E.E. Cooper nominated Bruce Grit to the post, precisely because:-

"He is popular with the colored press and can get the ear of the Associated Press and the big daily newspapers when he so elects."<sup>65.</sup>

The Niagara Movement also had a committee on the Press and Public Opinion, comprising W. Calvin Chase, Major R.R. Jackson, Mr. D. Wilkins, Rev. R.C. Ransom, Mr. W.M. Trotter, Mr. John E. Bruce, Mr. Harry C. Smith,

---

62. Afro-American Ledger, Sept.7,1912, Clipping, H.I.

63. Newport News Star, Sept.12,1916, Clipping, H.I.

64. Minutes, Board of Directors, Dec.10,1917. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

65. E.E. Cooper to A. Walters, May 31(?),1899. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

Mr. F.H.M. Murray and Mr. J.R. Clifford, whose task was to ensure that "return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain inalienable rights."<sup>66.</sup>

The black editors were not without organization. The National Afro-American Press Association, (later the National Negro Press Association) early took an uncompromising stance on the major political and social issues of the day, and its members covered the whole spectrum of black editorial opinion.<sup>67.</sup> In later years the committee at least, if not the membership, reflected a more conciliatory approach, following the example of Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee. The N.N.P.A. did make a very positive contribution to the development and organization of the black press by the compilation of a "complete, comprehensive and accurate directory of the colored newspapers of this country."<sup>68.</sup> Appearing in 1913, this book claimed to list:-

"the name of every newspaper, magazine or publication issued in, for or by the race, with the respective state and city where it is published. The name of the editor and manager, date of establishment and circulation are also given as well as the number of papers published in each state".<sup>69.</sup>

Although C.F. Adams was able to quash an attempt by Wilkins, Trotter, Chase, Cooper, Bruce Grit, Clifford and Smith to organize an independent Press Association, that is one that was independent of the influence of Booker T. Washington, the N.N.P.A. never suffered any real competition.<sup>70.</sup> The Pen and Pencil Club was a short-lived literary bureau created by Robert Pelham, R.W. Thompson, W.L. Board, A.U. Craig and W.T. Menard, whose objective was to crystallize and organize into a working body the

---

66. Declaration of Principles, 1905, and Committees of the Niagara Movement, 1905. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

67. Richmond Planet, July 13, 1895. Please see Appendix VI.

68. Form letter, R.W. Thompson to E.J. Scott, Nov. 15, 1912. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.  
Form letter, no date, 1912. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

69. Pittsburg Courier, June 6, 1913. Clipping, H.I.

70. C.F. Adams to B.T. Washington, June 15, 1904; Aug. 5, 1904 (personal and confidential). B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

corps of Washington correspondents, whose duty it would be to supply to the press of the country:-

"facts, statistics and other data looking to the advancement of the race along political, educational, industrial and business lines, and to keep the people of the States in touch with the status of such legislation as may be before Congress."<sup>71.</sup>

Although founded in the belief that "Publicity is a powerful instrument for reform",<sup>72.</sup> the Pen and Pencil Club was unable to put its vision into practice. However the idea of maintaining a watchful eye on the activities of Congress persisted, and this role devolved after 1912 on Archibald H. Grimké and the Washington branch of the N.A.A.C.P. It was not until the founding of The Associated Negro Press in 1919 by Claude Barnett of Chicago, that a cooperative newsgathering agency rendering service to black newspapers became established. Any newspaper of good standing which agreed to abide by the rules of the Association and pay a \$25 application fee could be granted membership; an additional charge was made for the service itself, but the organization was comprehensive and proved durable.<sup>73.</sup>

The growing size and strength of the black press had one curious side-effect - it allegedly contributed to a substantial decline in Afro-American church membership and prestige, by usurping the preacher's function of disseminating news and information to the race.<sup>74.</sup> By the second decade of the twentieth century, tension between the press and the clergy was becoming increasingly more apparent, not only in the growing irreligion of the editors but also in their blatant hostility. The clergy sensed and resented the encroachment of the press on their

---

71. Colored American, May 10, 1902, p.1.

72. Ibid., May 24, 1902, p.8. E.J. Scott to C.W. Anderson, Feb. 20, 1905. (Personal) B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

73. V.V. Oak, op.cit., p.99.

74. G.S. Schuyler, 'Black America Begins to Doubt', American Mercury Vol. XXV, (1932), p.422.

communicants, angering editors like Nick Chiles, who opened up the issue at the Annual Meeting of the N.N.P.A. in 1914. He

"deplored the general inactivity on the part of the clergy, and their failure to recognize the power of the press. He went on record as against giving any publicity to preachers who ignored the Negro newspapers."<sup>75</sup>.

The problems of circulation and finance beset even the most famous of the black newspapers. Rarely successful as business ventures, many were personal enterprises, launched with little capital and less professional journalistic knowledge. In 1914, 63% of black newspapers were published in the Southern states, where 89% of the black population lived. Most Southern papers were obscure sheets published in small towns, and Northern papers were often read in preference to local Southern ones. The greater literacy and more urban nature of the Northern population provided a more accessible readership than the more scattered, rural population, enabling some Northern editors to obtain subsidies from the Republican party because of the concentration of the vote.<sup>76</sup> Most editors had to exist by means other than journalism.<sup>77</sup> Methods of paying for the publication by raising subscriptions were haphazard and sporadic, and appeals to race pride did not mitigate the editor's humiliation at virtually

---

75. Proceedings, N.N.P.A. Muskegee, Okla., Aug. 17-21, 1914, p. 8.

76. E.L. Thornborough 'American Negro Newspapers, 1890-1914' Business History Review, Vol. 40 (1966), pp. 468-473.

77. C. Chase of the Bee and F. Barnett of the Conservator were both lawyers and political appointees. G.L. Knox of the Freeman was a barber and shopkeeper; J. Mitchell of the Planet founded the Mechanics Savings Bank. C.F. Adams of the Appeal secured the Assistant Registry of the Treasury, and H. Smith of the Cleveland Gazette was in the Ohio legislature and state inspector for oil. Dupree of the Colored American Magazine was a postal superintendant and businessman. The same phenomenon applied to periodicals; while editing Horizon and Voice of the Negro, both W.E.B. DuBois and J.W.E. Bowen held academic appointments.



begging for the survival of himself and his paper. The Horizon exemplified this by regularly having to find "guarantors" who would provide \$25 or more each at regular intervals to ensure the continuance of the paper. Its precarious existence was underlined by the fact that a revamped edition had to be postponed in 1909 because the business-manager elect fell and broke his arm.<sup>78.</sup>

The sufferings and sacrifices of Trotter were all too apparent to his friends, but they lamented his failings in terms of practical business. The radicals and others who felt as he did never rallied to the Guardian in adequate numbers, he carried few and selective advertisements, his propaganda had least appeal to whites, again disenchanting potential advertisers, while the Democracy, whose cause he espoused, never made up the deficits.<sup>79.</sup> The Guardian had been established by Trotter and George W. Forbes to protest against the policies of Tuskegee, but Forbes panicked after the fiasco of the Boston Riot, and in order to retain his position at the Boston Public Library he abandoned the paper, leaving a cash debt of \$200. Trotter was forced to circulate his friends to meet the payment of this debt, as the paper was really "a philanthropic enterprise".<sup>80.</sup> Although the "people are not hard to arouse, they are hard to keep", and one unofficial estimate put the circulation of the Guardian at a mere one hundred in Boston itself, and that during the wartime boom in black newspapers.<sup>81.</sup>

Most editors considered their racial aims before their consumer interests, but some managed to compromise.

"The California Eagle would print social news to please the people who wanted it, but it would discuss the important

---

78. W.E.B. DuBois to the Guarantors of the Horizon Mar.9; April 29; Sept.1,1909. F.H.M.M. Mss. H.U.

79. Franklin to J.E. Bruce, no date, J.E.B. Mss., Schomburg.

80. Form letter from W.H. Trotter, Feb.2,1904 (Confidential) W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

81. S.L. Fleming to F.R. Moore, June 15,1916. J.W.J.M.C. Beinecke, Yale.

issues of the day for those more patriotically inclined.<sup>82.</sup> 70.

Some editors were even prepared to print a race paper on white financing. Originally recognized as a hustler and the most able of the black editors at getting money,<sup>83.</sup> by 1904, E.E.Cooper had realized that the Colored American was going to find eternal rest in the newspaper graveyard that was Washington, D.C., but he made a final attempt to resuscitate his paper by the benevolence of white friends.<sup>84.</sup>

Despite the traumatic existence of such publications, competition was intense. Charles Alexander complained to B.T. Washington that "a certain element of colored Bostonians, the so-called four hundred, have organized very strongly to kill the influence of the Boston Colored Citizen." Alexander was a nervous, insecure individual who felt that his enemies were plotting against him by using "good-looking women...(so)...that I fear a man of gifts and proclivities cannot resist the wiles of a pretty women's smiles."<sup>85.</sup> The irony of this paranoia is that the Colored Citizen, and later Alexander's Magazine, were heavily subsidized by Washington in order to counteract the influence of Trotter and The Guardian, of which Alexander was complaining. His position was at best ambivalent, for, although the official journalist of the "Tuskegee Machine" in Boston, he at the same time favourably reviewed and quoted the works of W.E.B. DuBois, especially The Souls of Black Folk, while the Horizon carried advertisements for Alexander's Magazine. This cooperation may indicate

---

82. C.Bass, Forty Years of Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper (Los Angeles, 1960), p.31.

83. R.H.Terrell to J.E. Bruce, March 29, 1896. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

84. E.E. Cooper to B.T.Washington and E.J.Scott, Mar.9; Sept.22; Dec.4, 1904. B.T.S. Mss. L.C.

85. C. Alexander to B.T. Washington, Feb.6, 1905. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

nothing more than mutual respect, or friendship between the two editors, but it is symptomatic of the cross-advertising and the ideological cross-referencing that transpired in the black press. It is difficult to gauge which was more common - cooperation or competition. The evidence suggests that the economic imperative of advertising in each others' journals was strong, but many newsmen complained of the unpleasant atmosphere, the jealousy that bred disharmony,<sup>86</sup> in fact a situation of "selfishness and throat-cutting, that hampered the editor's freedom of manoeuvre by its very pettiness."<sup>87</sup>

Booker T. Washington's relations with the black press have been fully recorded elsewhere,<sup>88</sup> and it is an indication of the desperation and poverty of so many journals that they were so eager for these paucity contributions. Professor Meier has analysed Washington's methods, but the primary concern here is with his motives and their effects. Briefly, Washington was able to exert influence as some editors genuinely and sincerely agreed with him, while his prestige and power attracted more support. Indirectly he operated through R.W. Thompson's National Press Bureau in Washington, and through the N.N.P.A., while Tuskegee sometimes sent out news items which it paid the cost of printing. Advertisements were freely placed, and sometimes large numbers of certain editions were purchased for special distribution; occasionally special "Tuskegee" editions were subsidized, and even

---

86. Colored American, May 4, 1901, p.1.

87. T.T. Fortune to E.J. Scott, Mar. 28, 1904. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

88. A. Meier, 'Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press, with Special Reference to the Colored American Magazine', Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXXVIII, (1953).  
E.L. Thornborough 'More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York Age', Journal of Negro History, Vol. XLIII, (1959).

editorial copy was provided. Finally, some periodicals were directly subsidized - namely the New York Age, the Colored American, Boston Colored Citizen, Alexander's Magazine, Colored American Magazine and perhaps the Washington Bee.<sup>89</sup> It is too simple to suggest that Washington merely wanted to allay criticism of himself and his policies, and further extend his influence. Like his opponents he saw the role of the press in the larger field of the formation of public opinion, not simply with direct relevance to his own policies, and he recognized that unless he kept in contact with those who controlled the press, it would be impossible to use the press as an instrument for educating the people.<sup>90</sup> He further saw it as one means of keeping in touch with the masses of the race, for unless he made his views explicitly and frequently known, they were liable to be misunderstood. However, he appreciated the need to couple constant publicity with as many personal appearances as possible. His attitude on this score was that such fraternization was an unpleasant necessity:-

"The rank and file are all right, but they like to have those whom they trust and are trying to follow get near to them as often as possible. I believe you will agree with me that this is the proper policy, although in getting near them we may have to do disagreeable things."<sup>91</sup>

Although Washington himself had plenty of access to the white press, here was a field it would certainly have been convenient for him to have monopolized. He was responsive to L. Walton's suggestion of a campaign to educate the white man on the Negro problem, on the grounds that ignorance was a major component of prejudice, and also to prevent Villard and DuBois making the Crisis the mouthpiece of the Afro-American

---

89. Meier, op.cit., pp.67-68.

90. B.T.Washington to W.McKinley, Dec.16,1901. C.G.W. Mss. L.C.

91. B.T.Washington to C.W.Anderson, Dec.5,1907. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

to the white world.<sup>92</sup> One further aspect of Washington's interference with the black press was as an extension of his political manoeuvrings. Through Ralph Tyler, the cooperation of most of the coloured press with the Republicans was secured, for Washington had analysed their attitudes to the President for Charles Hilles, giving a state by state breakdown of the influence of the coloured papers.<sup>93</sup>

Washington's control over the black press was never absolute; he had to tolerate even the periodicals within his sphere of influence occasionally carrying militant messages, and sometimes even paying tribute to his enemies. Despite the fact that he was unable to control even his staunchest allies, his opponents ascribed to him incredible power and influence. Possibly their exaggerated fears resulted in their over-reaction. Fortune described the allegations of DuBois, Bowen and Barber as both hysterical and libellous,<sup>94</sup> when they tried to make public the influence of Washington in order to minimize it. DuBois' efforts met with a sharp rebuff from Oswald Garrison Villard, and his uncle, Francis Jackson Garrison. Presenting his evidence of corruption to Villard, including 16 documentary exhibits, and regretting that his warning to a black audience had so resulted in "dirty linen being exhibited too much in public", he was merely informed that the white man's faith in Washington's "purity of purpose and absolute freedom from selfishness and personal ambition" was unshaken, and that any actions taken by the literary bureau at Tuskegee were merely injudicious. Garrison's only fear was not for the censorship of the black press but

---

92. Lester Walton to B.T.Washington, Sept.14; Dec.14,1913. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

93. C.Hilles to R.Tyler, Mar.23,1912; B.T.Washington to C.Hilles, July 15,1911. C.Hilles Mss. Yale.  
Washington noted that only 31 out of 187 newspapers listed were "hostile".

94. New York Age, Jan.19,1905, p.2.



that the cash was not being subtracted from the contributions to the Institute! <sup>95</sup>. Thus by all but a handful of anti-Washingtonian, black intellectuals these warnings and exposures went unheeded, and the Tuskegee Machine unhindered. Washington knew that his real influence was over-estimated, <sup>96</sup>, but he did try to deny his activities in order to preserve their effectiveness. The illusion of his power was central in framing the reactions of the Talented Tenth to the press.

In a work of this scope it is not possible to give a detailed content analysis of the black press, but certain statements can validly be made about the manifest content of these publications. Although one can assume that there are inferences between content and intent, and content and effect, it is unjustifiable to suggest that audience exposure and content emphasis are necessarily parallel. <sup>97</sup>. This is particularly true of the black press, for as cheap, flimsy paper was passed from hand to hand, a certain amount of damage was inevitable, even if the reader consumed every column, which was unlikely. Certain preconditions determine the nature of a communication - the attitudes, interests and intentions of the communicators, and the psychological state of the persons or groups - while the content itself may reveal such stylistic features as propaganda techniques.

It is the communicator's perception of his audience's attitudes and values, however, biased, that dictates what is produced, while it is subject to the pressure of special interest groups. It has already been demonstrated that the Talented Tenth devoutly believed in the efficacy of publicity and in the rationality of man to right the racial

---

95. W.E.B. DuBois to O.G. Villard, Mar. 24, 1905; Villard to DuBois, April 18, 1905. F.J. Garrison to O.G. Villard, April 7, 1905. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

96. B.T. Washington to R.R. Moton, April 10, 1911. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

97. B.R. Berelson and P.F. Lazarsfeld, The Analysis of Communication Content (Microfilm, Preliminary draft, 1948), pp. 6-8.

wrongs, and that this notion affected their attitudes to those with whom they hoped to communicate. Simultaneously the activities of the Tuskegee Machine were those of a virtually unchallenged pressure group, hoping, if not succeeding in channelling public opinion to their support. Fannie Barrier Williams saw public opinion as "stubborn, stolid and self-sufficient" which although it could not be forced or deceived, could be taught, convinced and finally won.<sup>98</sup> This is precisely what the Voice of the Negro, who printed her homilies, endeavoured to do, by guarding its column against articles provocative of rancour or prejudice, in the hope of ultimate racial reconciliation.

Other commentators on the intentions of newsmen came to the same conclusions as the Voice who proposed that "doers take precedence over seers and thinkers are preferred to dreamers".<sup>99</sup> Fortune saw a magazine as "a record of what mankind are dreaming, what they are thinking, with greatest emphasis on what they are doing in their intellectual strivings, in their industrial efforts, in their commercial activities, in their religious aspirations - but always results as the sequence of efforts".<sup>100</sup> Some editors had more modest aims. Reverdy C. Ransom claimed that he only wanted to compel the attention of the nation in the A.M.E. Review,<sup>101</sup> but Charles Alexander was a little more self-righteous. He saw journalism as the art of accumulating "the diversified facts of current events and arranging them in a convenient form for the general reading public", for the purpose of publishing "truth". It was in effect the presentation of contemporary history,

98. The Voice of the Negro, Vol. I (Jan. 1904), p. 32.

99. Ibid., p. 33.

100. T. T. Fortune, 'What a Magazine Should Be', Colored American Magazine (June 1904), p. 395.

101. R. C. Ransom to C. W. Chesnutt, July 28, 1913. C. W. C. Mss. Fisk.

"in a clean and wholesome form".<sup>102.</sup>

Some publicists were more blatantly racial in their intentions, like E.E. Cooper who wanted to preach the gospel of peace and goodwill, without impotent denunciation of the South or complaint about lack of opportunity in the North. Slowly but surely the black man would rise as the white immigrant had, but until then strategic diplomacy was the better part of valour.<sup>103.</sup> The Chicago Broad-ax aimed to show the "good qualities and bright side of the Negro" by the careful regulation of its editorial policy. Committed at all times to promulgate and uphold the true principles of Democracy, Julius F. Taylor, the editor was not without his own prejudices. Claiming his platform was broad enough for all, he would only tolerate

"Catholics, Protestants, Priests, Infidels, Farmers, Single Taxers, Republicans, Knights of Labor or anyone else...so long as their language is proper and the responsibility fixed."<sup>104.</sup>

The Freeman mourned the loss to the race of the Voice of the Negro, for it had been dedicated to "championing unabridged rights, standing for supremely perfect conditions", and its demise was attributed to the lack of qualified readers to sustain it.<sup>105.</sup> Concern for racial morality was often as important as citizenship rights or economic progress. The Atlanta Independent vowed that "The paramount mission of our publication will be the moral, material and educational interests of the race and community".<sup>106.</sup> The overall result of the efforts of the black press, against ferocious odds, was the development of a collective racial consciousness among blacks,<sup>107.</sup> defeating the conspiracy of silence in the

---

102. Alexander's Magazine, Vol.I (1906), p.48.

103. Colored American, Aug.3,1901, p.8.

104. Chicago Broad-ax, Feb.7,1901 and Jan.30,1904, p.1.

105. Indianapolis Freeman, Feb.15,1908, p.4.

106. Atlanta Independent, Jan.11,1911. Clipping. H.I.

107. 6th Annual Session, N.A.A.C.P., May 3-4-5, 1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

white press, and campaigning valiently for redress of grievances.

In order to mobilize sentiment, the Press had to resort to propaganda techniques. These were so effective that as early as 1900, the newspaper was seen as taking over from the rostrum and the pulpit as the prime agency of opinion formation.<sup>108.</sup> The anti-Washington barrage of the Guardian was propaganda of a most negative variety, and its vituperative abuse undermined much of the positive contribution it could have made. Chesnutt advised Trotter that a "high-class, dignified and helpful newspaper" would be of service to the race, whereas acrimonious personalities, "which are the death of art", might be the death of his newspaper.<sup>109.</sup> Although this advice went unheeded, no other black newspaper could indulge in this kind of name-calling and live. It was also difficult to gauge the level at which to pitch propaganda. The earliest efforts of the N.A.A.C.P. failed miserably, not only because the work was unpopular, the machinery inadequate and the Bourbon control of the Northern Press too subtle, but because the publicity had been too "high-brow", or as Joel Spingarn had described it "Evening Post Publicity".<sup>110.</sup> Such misadventures did not lessen the belief of the black community in the power of propaganda. At the local level, for example, Nashville's coloured citizens and institutions placed much faith in the technique of the testimonial - by heralding their achievements to the outside world, they believed they could overcome the negative image of the black man's ability so generally held by the white man.<sup>111.</sup>

Propaganda could as much prevent certain activities as promote

---

108. J.W. Lyons, 'An Appeal to the Daily Press', A.M.E.Review, Vol.16, (1899-1900), p.107.

109. C.W.Chesnutt to W.M.Trotter, Dec.28,1901. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

110. M.C. Nerney to A.H. Grimké, Oct.28,1913. A.H.G. Mss. H.U.

111. W. Berry to G.E.Haynes, Sept.27,1917. G.E.H. Mss. Fisk.

others. By 1919, negative propaganda was seen by the Tuskegee-oriented as necessary to counteract the post-war encroachments of Bolshevism and Socialism in the Negro community, and to reassert the prestige of R.R. Moton after his refusal to make radical statements to the coloured troops in France. Such actions could be justified in terms of the preservation of the "Tuskegee Ideal" against the onslaught of the Talented Tenth, and the hope was to invest thousands of dollars in this, after the manner of Washington.<sup>112</sup> By 1919, the coloured press was too assertive to be so easily muzzled - the Talented Tenth no longer had to rely on subsidy and philanthropy to ensure the survival of their papers.

The use of propaganda techniques may be best exemplified by looking at one periodical, the Crisis, which catered to a multi-racial audience<sup>113</sup> and was the most polished black publication of the period. A psychological pattern in terms of self and non-self, approval and disapproval emerged. Firstly there is pro-black, by both races, which comes out in the discussions of Art and Science, Men of the Month and Social Uplift, in a way designed to boost morale and race pride. Then there is anti-black by both whites and blacks. This appears in the quotations from the white and coloured press, the exposures of "Uncle Toms", the horrors revealed in "The Burden" and the discussions of segregation, the South, the labour unions, lynching and the treatment of the Negro by white imperialists abroad. The sense of prosecution was developed to prompt a closer ethnic unity and organization, and the martyred feeling of innocent blacks tormented by evil whites relates to the pro-self category to produce an idealized image of a suffering race

---

112. L. Walton to T.J. Jones, March 27, 1919. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

113. J.E. Spingarn estimated that 20% of the readership of Crisis was white. Chairman's Report, Minutes, Board of Directors, Jan. 3, 1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.



bearing its burdens in a brave and Christ-like fashion. The third category of anti-whites by blacks and whites is used to illustrate the guilt of the white liberals, but also to vent the outraged emotions of the blacks at what they have to endure. Despite the tyranny of the white man, black attitudes are portrayed as those of seemingly inexhaustible tolerance, a conscious lack of race prejudice and hatred despite provocation, and the conviction of the moral superiority of the Afro-American. The last category of pro-whites by both races is used to show that all whites are not evil, to point out the white friends of the Afro-American, and to illustrate the thought processes of the white man to give a better understanding of him. The subliminal message is that racial harmony is still possible, and that the best way to achieve it is to trust the initiatives of the N.A.A.C.P.

The selection of material in the above categories is obviously a propaganda technique, but the intellectual leanings of most of the magazine's contributors may have saved it from the worst sins of distortion. It rarely revelled in the abuse of whites or generalized explicitly on the virtues of blacks, although faith in their potential was implicit throughout. It was fond of using the testimonial to cheer flagging spirits, and often transferred Biblical situations to the Afro-American predicament. At most Christmases and many Easters there was a conscious identification of the Afro-American with Jesus, by means of metaphors, antonomasia and allegory. The use of dialect in occasional essays is an attempt to emphasize the unity of the intellectual and the non-intellectual - "the plain folks" technique making intellectual leadership acceptable, and the use of the vernacular underscoring the fundamental concord of the group.

It then appears that the media of communication had to be diverse to meet differing problems and to reach different types of people. By

discussing things among themselves, or producing propaganda for white consumption and edification, in both the racial and the white press, the Talented Tenth were not ignoring the masses but were keeping in contact with each other or attempting to mollify white opinion. It was very important to preserve their group unity, as well as to reach the masses. In order to accomplish the latter, they appreciated that the written word was not really an effective medium, and so they made every attempt to speak to the race personally by using all the oratorical and rhetorical skills they could command.

The Talented Tenth were obligated to accord with the particular image which the race held of them; they were expected to be omniscient and omnicompetent, to be leaders in each and every field of racial activity, despite their personal training, preferences or ability. One basic problem of communication was overcoming the intra-racial class barriers; they had to at least profess group solidarity as a prerequisite to any leadership aspirations. This was however the result of conviction as well as the product of circumstances, for while the Talented Tenth frequently led a self-contained social life, they nevertheless shared the economic, political and legal status of the whole race. They did sometimes have vague feelings of martyrdom, and bemoaned the lack of support from the masses, but few attempted to reappraise their leadership role in the light of this realization. Most preferred to condemn the masses for their ingratitude. The parting of the ways was principally in the divergent spheres of interests of the Talented Tenth and the rest of the race; whereas the latter were mainly preoccupied with the problems of survival and everyday living, the former sought to emphasize those aspects of reform which were more important to their own lifestyle. Even although many of the Talented Tenth had been born

in the lower classes, they turned to the issues which interested the socially mobile rather than the poor, but they were always aware of the need to keep in contact with the majority.

Communication had two facets - maintaining and encouraging social and intellectual contacts within the Talented Tenth itself, and the wider aspect of "educating" the masses politically. By informal social contacts in their organizations and by the avid reading of everything written by black authors, the Talented Tenth exchanged ideas amongst themselves. The real problem lay in overcoming the barriers shielding the élite from their race. Illiteracy was a paramount consideration, but so was the language or dialect of both the spoken and written word. While many could not read, the Talented Tenth were obliged to go "on the stump" and contact the people of the backwoods. For this it was necessary to retain the sympathy of the local clergyman, as the church was the central agency for the dissemination of information. The written word reached a very small constituency, for it was limited not only by literacy, but by the willingness and ability to purchase the material. Neither factor seemingly inhibited the black author from attempting to convey his point of view.

The black press was the most important medium of communication both within the Talented Tenth and within the race as a whole. Sharing certain assumptions, black editors were convinced that the revelation of the oppression under which blacks suffered and the display of the discrepancies between American ideals and American mores would eventually lead to the alleviation of the race's plight. Black newspapers often had to be subsidized by the editors' other business activities or by guarantors, for they usually considered themselves racial rather than business enterprises and because of these financial difficulties, many came under the influence of Booker T. Washington, who had the backing

necessary to sustain them. The acknowledged purpose of the black press encouraged propaganda as well as factual reporting, as a corrective to anti-black vitriol as well as to advance racial aims.

It therefore appears that the Talented Tenth were beset by problems in their communications with each other and with their people. It would not be unreasonable to claim that the majority of written communications were penned by teachers and educators in conjunction with the literati and newspaper editors, while the bulk of spoken communication was from the pulpit, for clergymen had a regular, dedicated audience, although vigorous attempts were made by speakers bureaux and various organizations to reach the underprivileged. It is impossible to estimate the amount of informal or personal communication, which is nevertheless of vital importance - the relationship between doctor and patient, for example, or teacher and parent as well as the more obvious teacher and student - and which built up a system of deference, while it occasionally overcame the barriers of the class infrastructure of the ethnic subcommunity.

CHAPTER IVTHE ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSION OF LEADERSHIP

An examination of the organizational structures and affiliations of the Talented Tenth throws light on two basic areas of their leadership role - their aims and ideologies, and their method of mobilization to make these operative. Those organizations which were dominated by members of the Talented Tenth were only a portion of the black organizations existing in this period;<sup>1</sup> as well as purely black movements there were those of an inter-racial composition, while the majority of the race were members of lodges and friendly societies rather than the idealistic, racial betterment associations. On the other hand, there were those dominated by the practical rather than the philosophical men - for example the National Negro Business League (N.N.B.L.) or other associations affiliated to a professional or an interest group. This chapter proposes to examine the structure and functions, aims and objects, membership composition, and resilience of selected black organizations promoted and organized by the Talented Tenth, namely the Literary and Historical Societies, the Afro-American Council, the Niagara Movement, and certain miscellaneous, local groups, as far as the available data will permit.

The prototype of the Literary and Historical Associations was the Bethel Literary and Historical Association of Washington, D.C. Founded by Bishop Daniel A. Payne in 1881, it held its meetings in the Bethel A.M.E. Church. The records and history of the Association, although fragmentary, illustrate the growth, composition and attitudes of the

---

1. For organizations with an inter-racial composition, please see Chapter 7, and for those under the influence of Washington, Chapter 5. The N.N.B.L. will be discussed in Chapter 8.



Talented Tenth. As early as the third meeting

"The audience had grown steadily larger, and their character had visibly changed from the brothers and sisters of the 'amen corner' of which they were nearly exclusively composed, to those brought out by their interest in the topics discussed."<sup>2</sup>.

Gradually the membership changed from being based on the congregation to a more intellectual nucleus, drawing its strength from black government employees, politicians, teachers and the staff of Howard University. According to the eulogies of the Association's official historian, those involved embodied the very flower of the race in competence, intelligence and culture, and further the first year's success demonstrated that the Literary had met a popular need, that an appeal to the intellect would receive as ready a response as one would to the pleasurable emotions, and that there was ample material ready and willing to supply all the people's intellectual needs.<sup>3</sup> This may have been an over-optimistic assessment of the situation, but nevertheless by 1896 the Association was in a healthy condition, despite changes in both church and state, and was the honorary foster-mother to many other literary organizations in different sections of the city, all conducted along the same general plan of connection with the Churches.

The membership was small and select; only 25 are recorded as fully paid-up in the Minute Book for 1901,<sup>4</sup> of whom 3 were women, 2 were politicians, 2 were journalists, 4 were professors, 2 were doctors, 3 were churchmen, and the remainder people of established local reputation. Organized to provide a forum for the discussion of the black man's problems, the Literary became a sounding-board for airing the black man's grievances.

---

2. J.W.Cromwell, History of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association (Washington, D.C., 1896), p.3. B.L.H.A. Mss. H.U.

3. Ibid., pp.8-9.

4. Please see Appendix VI.

The Association issued articulate Appeals to the country.

Reminding Americans of the black man's gifts to the nation of loyalty, labour and life, the Association requested reciprocation in protection and justice by the laws of the land "enacted impartially, interpreted righteously, administered fairly".<sup>5</sup> The Literary was the very foundation stone of the race's belief in the efficacy of the law and the legal redress of grievances. Closely connected with this was the faith in a Christian solution, the white man had only to remain true to his "knowledge of Right" and his "nobler conceptions of Christianity" to dispel hate once and for all. The Association had no modesty as to the status of its membership, who, it claimed, represented "the culture, intelligence, character, civilization and progress of the colored people of this country".<sup>6</sup>

However the Bethel Literary was largely a debating society, and although it brought the intellectual elite of Washington, D.C. together to discuss their problems, in practical terms it did nothing towards the solution of those problems. Nevertheless, it became very prestigious and one of the major sources of articulate protest thought in the period 1881 to World War I. By 1898, E.E. Cooper considered that:-

"Bethel Literary is a national institution, and its president should always be a man of national proportions...Bethel is not denominational, it belongs to the community, regardless of creed, politics or tint."<sup>7</sup>

Cooper was correct in saying that the Literary, although it still met on A.M.E. premises, was no longer directly affiliated to the Church - in fact the topics discussed were more of a political or ideological than a theological nature. In a speech honouring J.M. Langston, P.B.S. Pinchback repudiated the interference of "white friends" in

---

5. B.L.H.A., Appeal (probably 1901). B.L.H.A. Mss. H.U.

6. B.L.H.A., Appeal (no date). B.L.H.A. Mss. H.U.

7. Colored American, May 14, 1898, p.4.

the selection of black leaders, claiming that this was reducing the ability of the black community to effectively protest and leaving it defenceless before the insults and attacks of whites.<sup>8</sup> Bethel Literary was one of the black organizations that opposed the preachings and principles of Booker T. Washington; it endorsed such speeches as that of Edward C. Morris, entitled "Shams", in which he denounced Washington, "upon whom he saddled every wrong, every sin, every crime committed by the white people of the country against the Negro".<sup>9</sup> In a less vituperative vein was Charles Chesnutt's lecture on the "Elements of Citizenship". While he was a friend of Washington's, Chesnutt did not share his accommodationist philosophy, and tactfully informed him:-

"I approached it at a different angle from that which you ordinarily take, directing myself to the legal and ethical basis of citizenship rather than its practical working out." <sup>10</sup>.

This opposition to Washington was however, neither unanimous nor continuous, for in 1908 the B.L.H.A. held a public meeting in conjunction with the N.N.B.L., where speeches in support of the "Tuskegee Idea" were made by members such as Justice Terrell, Recorder Dancy, Auditor Tyler, Lawyer Thomas L. Jones, Roscoe C. Bruce and others.<sup>11</sup>

By 1911, Bethel Literary had a competitor for national prominence in the Boston Literary and Historical Association.<sup>12</sup> Enjoying a steady growth since its inception in 1901, it had a more unequivocally and anti-Bookerite platform than its counter-part in Washington. The society was formed:-

"to improve and quicken the intellectual life of the colored

8. Colored American, April 30, 1898, p.6.

9. Colored American, January 23, 1904, p.8.

10. C.W. Chesnutt to B.T. Washington, May 28, 1904. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

11. R.W. Thompson to B.T. Washington, February 3, 1908. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

12. Pittsburg Courier, May 13, 1911, p.1.

people of Boston, and to have a body to represent their best thoughts."<sup>13</sup>.

The original committee included A.H. Grimke, as President, and William Monroe Trotter.<sup>14</sup> Its avowed objectives were:-

"to arouse men and women to the grave dangers of mental starvation as a result of their absorption in the strife of commercialization so characteristic of the age; and to collect and preserve hitherto unearned data of historical value relating to so-called colored Americans."<sup>15</sup>.

Although pledged to promote the intellectual life of the community, no person was to be admitted if membership exceeded three hundred.<sup>16</sup> The Association was unashamedly élitist, and was soon dominated by Trotter and Butler Wilson, who channelled its activities to a radical, anti-Tuskegee position. Charles Alexander's description of their dictatorial attitudes is more than probably exaggerated, when he claimed that "the whole affair is conducted on the basis of exclusion; only sympathizers whether capable or incapable of addressing an audience are given an opportunity to say a word." Whether unanimity or censorship was the more crucial agent, a surprising degree of ideological unity was exhibited at the Boston Literary, for the Tuskegee Machine was forced to admit that:-

"The strangest thing about the composition of the meeting was that some of the best people of the city were there and they all seemed to be very much in sympathy with Trotter's view."<sup>17</sup>.

The topics discussed covered a wide range of subjects, including the implications of imperialism, the role of the Negro soldier, eulogies to the old abolitionists, Education, Racial Progress and Strategies, Women's Rights, Philosophical, Literary and Historical subjects, The

13. W.M.Trotter to C.W.Chesnutt, April 3, 1910. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

14. Minutes, March 18, 1901. W.M.T. Mss. B.U. See also Appendix VI.

15. Boston L.H.A., Third Anniversary Booklet, p.1. W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

16. Boston L.H.A., Constitution, Articles II and III. W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

17. C. Alexander to B.T.Washington, June 13, 1904. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

South, Africa, other organizations, and the War in Europe.<sup>18.</sup>

The meetings were addressed by distinguished members and guests - Forbes, Trotter, Grimké and Stewart made frequent appearances, and other Bostonians such as W.H. Lewis (later a supporter of B.T. Washington), Mrs. Wilson and Pauline Hopkins were welcomed, while visits from nationally known blacks like W.E.B. DuBois, Kelly Miller, W.S. Braithwaite and W.S. Scarborough were quite common, and those by prominent whites, such as Moorfield Storey and B.O. Flower, the editor of Arena, were not unknown. Boston was apparently more radical than Bethel as an organization, but both had lively memberships for which they provided a debating forum and a congenial social club. Neither aspired to activities beyond the literary and rhetorical, nor did they wish to interest a mass membership, yet both were important sources for the dissemination of the black intellectual's thinking about his social predicament. The fragmentary nature of the remaining documents of both these Associations is an irreparable loss to the study of black intellectual history in this period.

Other literary societies blossomed or died in other cities without making such a national impact. In 1896, Charles Alexander planned to organize a Society for the Promotion of Afro-American Literature in Philadelphia, whose object was to be the study of the poetry, romance, history, biography and other writings produced by Afro-Americans in the interest of Afro-Americans.<sup>19.</sup> Such ventures were common and frequently short-lived. On the other hand, not all literaries were necessarily radical and anti-Washingtonian. The Tuskegee Machine in Chicago in fact used this as a medium to keep Washington and his cause

---

18. Minute Books, 1901-1919. W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

The quality, standard and comprehensiveness of the Minutes varies according to the diligence of the Secretary.

19. C.Alexander to J.E. Bruce, April 11, 1896. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.



before the "best of the American people". Interestingly, in 1908, that is after the publication of Souls of Black Folk and the founding of the Niagara Movement, S. Laing Williams could report of this literary club in Englewood composed of teachers, students, businessmen and their wives, that:-

"...the name of DuBois was as thoroughly unknown to them as a Patagonian chief. They did not know him and had never heard of him, and were scarcely willing to believe that there was such a man on earth or in the clouds."<sup>20</sup>.

This does not reflect very creditably on the scope and interests of the members, but illustrates admirably the problems that the Talented Tenth faced in putting their message across. This ignorance of the works of DuBois and those of the other Northern intellectuals, was echoed and confirmed by the Rev. C. Woodford Smith, who claimed that neither he nor his Tuskegee colleagues had ever heard of DuBois before World War I.<sup>21</sup>.

Great hopes were held out for the Negro Society for Historical Research, founded by Arthur A. Schomburg and John E. Bruce in 1911, in Yonkers, N.Y., which "if it can stimulate race pride...will become one of the beacon lights that will guide the race to the Temple of Minerva."<sup>22</sup>. Founded both to instruct the race and inspire love and veneration for its men and women, the Society aimed to teach, enlighten and instruct the people in Negro history and achievement, to institute a circulating library, a bureau of race information with a collection of all books and pamphlets by Negro authors and their friends, and to gather all

20. S.L.Williams to B.T.Washington, Feb.24,1908. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

21. Interview with author, May 24,1973.

Rev.Smith was on the faculty of Phelps Stokes Bible Hall during the administration of Dr. Washington.

22. A.A.Schomburg to G.W.Forbes, July 18, 1914. G.W.F. Mss. B.P.L.

the data bearing upon race achievements in every form of endeavour.<sup>23</sup> The Society was committed to revealing the black man's past, especially in Africa, for it believed that this knowledge of the race's contribution to world history and civilization would instil pride and dispel feelings of inferiority, which would lead to enhanced race solidarity and unity. The Society had a small membership, scattered throughout the U.S. and overseas, including Dossen in Liberia,<sup>24</sup> Duse Mohammed in London and DuBois on the home front. The Society, although in the guise of an historical society, was primarily designed for utilitarian rather than academic purposes - it planned to use and adapt its findings for practical racial purposes, rather than to pursue black history for its intrinsic interest.

Much more avowedly scholarly was the work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, organized in Chicago in 1915 by Dr. Carter G. Woodson with only five persons.<sup>25</sup> Through its journal, The Journal of Negro History, the Association planned to collect historical and sociological data on the black man in Africa and the New World, in the form of scholarly studies and the preservation of documents.<sup>26</sup> For its first ten years the Association was predominantly a historical association with a very limited influence on the people at large<sup>27</sup>, although it quickly won the attention and respect of the intellectuals. Indulging neither in panegyric nor polemic, the

---

23. Duse Mohammed, 'The Negro Society for Historical Research in Yonkers, New York,' African Times and Orient Review (Dec.1912) pp.26-7.

24. A.A. Schomburg to J.E. Bruce, Nov.24,1911. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

25. R.W.Bullock, In Spite of the Handicaps (New York, 1927), p.124.

26. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Constitution

27. L.P.Jackson, 'The Work of the Association and the People,' Journal of Negro History, Vol.XX, (1935) p.385.

Association set out to put the historical record straight rather than involve itself in partisan or protest activities. Woodson himself regarded his Association as the "only effort now being made to apply science to the racial problem," (the work of the A.N.A. and the Atlanta University Studies having virtually ceased), but like all other black organizations, he faced the devastating problem of fund-raising. To his dismay, in the fund-raising drive of 1919 he found:-

"every penny of the \$1200.00 already pledged has come from white persons. This may apparently indicate that the white race is more interested in the Negro than the race itself. This does not necessarily follow, for few Negroes are in a position to make large contributions..."<sup>28</sup>.

However despite this display of white philanthropy the A.S.N.L.H. was predominantly a black organization and claimed to be:-

"the only black learned society which the Negroes of this country have organized and promoted and the one agency which has collected and published more facts of Negro history than any other in the world."<sup>29</sup>.

While the second part of this claim may be justifiable, the former proposition is not, for the American Negro Academy, organized in 1897, was certainly both learned and organized by Negroes, and was in fact and theory not only élitist, but the foundation of the very ideology of the Talented Tenth.

The American Negro Academy existed from 1897 until 1924, during which time it published 22 occasional papers to further its aims. The embodiment of an ideal, its objectives were to promote literature, science and art, the culture of a form of intellectual taste, the fostering of higher education, the publication of scholarly works and

---

28. C.G.Woodson to Col.C.Young, March 11,1919. C.G.W. Mss. L.C.

29. C.G.Woodson to B.G.Brawley, Jan.7, 1932. J.W.J. Mem. Coll., Yale.

the defence of the Negro against vicious assaults.<sup>30</sup> The ideas behind its founding - to make the intellectual élite the mouthpiece and acknowledged leadership of the whole race, to inform white America of the black man's aspirations and abilities, to oppose the discrimination the Negro suffered, and to counteract the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington - were frequently and eloquently propounded by the Rev. Alexander Crummell, first from his pulpit, then culminating in his famous inaugural address, Civilization: The Primal Need of the Race.

Crummell was disturbed by the emphasis on material advance at the expense of intellectual and cultural development, for which he blamed the leadership of Washington and his supporters:-

"Blind men: for they fail to see that neither property, nor money, nor station, nor office, nor lineage are fixed factors in so large a thing as the destiny of man: that they are not vitalizing qualities in the changeless hopes of humanity..."<sup>31</sup>.

The answer lay in the small élite of the intelligent, whose duty was "to transform and stimulate the souls of the race".<sup>32</sup> They were however not only distinguished from the masses, but responsible for their uplift; it was a concept of a concerned and philanthropic élite, working together harmoniously for the greater glory of the race and the good of its members. It was not only to inspire the race but to instill pride within it, for it was the personification of black achievement in the teeth of prejudice. The race now fostering its genius for a distinct and definite purpose, and this was the primary function of the Academy. It planned to overcome the reluctance in the American mind to admit not only the intellect but also the humanity of the Negro.<sup>33</sup>

---

30. American Negro Academy, Occasional Papers, Schomburg.

31. A.Crummell, 'Civilization: The Primal Need of the Race', A.N.A. Occasional Paper, 3a, (1897), p.5.

32. Ibid., p.6.

33. A.Crummell, 'The Attitude of the American Mind Toward the Negro Intellect', A.N.A. Occasional Paper, 3b, (1897), pp.8-17.

Crummell died in 1898, when his place as President was taken by W.E.B. DuBois, who had very definite ideas about the functions of the Association. He suggested an Academy creed consisting of the following basic tenets:- that the Negro people, as a race, had a contribution to make to civilization and humanity; that it was their duty to maintain their racial identity until their mission was accomplished; that it was both feasible and practical for the white and coloured races to live in harmony in America; to ensure this, there should be a social equilibrium, rather than an equality, that would give consideration to culture, ability, and moral worth in either race; that the first step in eradicating the Negro Problem was the correction of the vices of the slave heritage, namely immorality, crime and laziness among the race themselves; that the second step would be a more impartial selection of ability in the economic and intellectual world; and finally, that the race should strive for the development of a strong manhood and a pure womanhood, and for the rearing of a race ideal in Africa and America, to the glory of God and the uplifting of the Negro people.<sup>34</sup>

DuBois ascribed one other function to the Academy - the resolution of that vacillation that plagued the American Negro, "Am I American, or am I a Negro?" The dilemma in which the black man was placed in deciding whether to become completely absorbed by white Americans, losing his racial identity, or to assert himself and fulfil his racial mission. The result of the former faith was that race action was stifled, that the black man became more rather than less oppressed. DuBois saw it as the duty of the race to preserve its physical powers, intellectual endowments and spiritual ideals by organization, solidarity and unity, which was not only necessary for positive advance, but imperative for negative defence. For these purposes the A.N.A. needed to be representative in character, meaning that it did not represent all factions of

---

34. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Conservation of Races,' A.N.A. Occasional Paper, 2 (1897), p.15.



the race, but rather its "best" thought. The Academy was to put in touch with each other, and to provide a mouthpiece for the interchange of opinion among those intellectuals who might otherwise be inaccessible to one another. Furthermore, the Academy was to tell the truth about the Negro to both blacks and whites, and to mobilize the blacks for the "vast work of self-regeneration", by pointing out a practical path of advance to the race, and exposing such faults or vices that needed conquered.<sup>35</sup> In this way the Academy set out to resolve some of the major debates in black intellectual history that characterized the era 1895-1919.

According to the Constitution, the number of fellows of the Academy was limited to 50, although there was no limit to the number who could become members or associates; women were excluded, and candidates were required to be men of science, letters or art, or distinguished in some area, to submit a written application to one of the secretaries and be recommended by six enrolled members, and to be admitted by a ballot of two-thirds of all members voting in person or by proxy, of which notification was given two months prior to the balloting. Further the Constitution provided for the expulsion of members who failed to pay their dues for two years, and also prohibited members inserting titles or degrees to their names for work published by the Academy.<sup>36</sup> The 12 members of the A.N.A., at the time of its incorporation, were all college graduates except Paul Lawrence Dunbar, 5 of them were Howard alumni. John W. Cromwell was a lawyer and editor, and of the remaining 10, 5 were ministers and 5 college professors or

---

35. Ibid., pp.10-14.

36. American Negro Association, Constitution. Copies in the A.H.G. Mss. and F.H.M.M. Mss. H.U.

school teachers.<sup>37.</sup> The Association grew, but seems not to have ever reached a membership of as much as 50,<sup>38.</sup> or in fact even to have surpassed 40. As it expanded, its composition diversified; at one stage the enrolment of 30 included 3 educators, 7 ministers (of whom 4 were bishops), 1 literary man, 1 devoted to institutional work, 4 editors, 1 journalist and 4 physicians; of whom 10 lived in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 11 in the Central Atlantic states, 8 in the South Atlantic section and 3 in the Central West.<sup>39.</sup>

The work of the Academy was divided into four departments, viz: Scientific, Philosophical, Literature and Arts,<sup>40.</sup> but its consummation was in the production of the Occasional Papers, which were designed to:-

"...aid, by their broad and scholarly treatment of the topics discussed, the dissemination of principles, tending to the growth and development of the Negro along right lines, and the vindication of that race against vicious assaults."<sup>41.</sup>

The two obstacles to black progress were disunity within the race itself, which was partly the result of no definite policy or guide lines, and the opposition of white America to the black man's aspirations. The Occasional Papers were the principle medium by which the members could air their ideas on how the Negro could best improve his social, educational and economic efficiency, and were distributed nationwide to prominent individuals, newspapers, colleges, state historical societies and the Library of Congress. The 24 papers contained 32

---

37. M.I. Miller, The A.N.A: An Intellectual Movement During the Era of Negro Disfranchisement, 1897-1924, (M.A. Howard University, 1966), p.28.

38. A mistake frequently made by historians and newspapermen is that membership was limited to 50, rather than fellowship. Membership was unrestricted, except for the payment of a \$5 fee. (\$10 for fellows.)

39. Pittsburg Courier, no date, (possibly 1911). Clipping, H.I.

40. A.N.A., Constitution, J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

41. Announcement of A.N.A., 1897. Copy in A.H.G. Mss. H.U. and in Broderick's Notes on the DuBois Mss., Schomburg.

separate articles, the majority of which were on the predicament of the race and how to resolve it by economic and political means. The Academy was concerned lest the Negro's manhood and citizenship rights be abrogated, and to this end the membership paid particular attention to the mechanics and methods of the franchise. They also discussed the theory and problems of race relations, the history of the black race both in the U.S. and abroad, and sometimes conducted comparative studies of the blacks' situation in different countries. Thus the range of debate and discussion within the A.N.A. coincided with the issues of black protest at the turn of the century, codifying and articulating the sentiments of those who considered themselves the Talented Tenth.

Throughout 1898, the movement to revive the Afro-American League, which had disintegrated following the Knoxville Convention of 1891, rapidly assumed form, as the race prepared to organize itself to lift the oppression of the people.<sup>42</sup> Although signed by a sufficient number of people to ensure a representative assembly, the first meeting of the Council was delayed on account of the war fever that gripped Americans, because of the conflict with Spain. "...An inopportune agitation would be fatal to the organization, and do great harm to the cause it means to espouse."<sup>43</sup> At the instigation of Alexander Walters, who collected 109 signatures, T.T. Fortune reluctantly issued a call for a meeting at Rochester, New York, in 1898, but warned that he was more than dubious that the race's ability to organize had increased since the failure of the Afro-American League.<sup>44</sup>

---

42. Colored American, May 28, 1898, p.4.

43. Indianapolis Freeman, July 2, 1898. Clipping, A.C.S. Mss. L.C.

44. New York Age, Aug. 24, 1898. Clipping, A.C.S. Mss. L.C.  
A. Walters, My Life and Work (New York, 1917), pp. 98-103.

The National Afro-American Council's (N.A.A.C.) main purpose was to be:-

"the sentinel on the watch tower of the race's liberty and rights, and to sound the alarm when they are attacked and to call our people and their friends to their defense."<sup>45</sup>.

The League was never open to mass participation, an organizational discrepancy between theory and practice that ensured that the people it claimed to represent and champion neither supported it with sympathy nor money.<sup>46</sup> Membership was confined to those who held life-membership, council delegates representing duly accredited local councils, and affiliated delegates representing organizations of similar plans and purposes co-operating with the N.A.A.C. Every local Afro-American council was entitled to be represented in the National Council on the basis of one delegate to fifty members, but branches of less than fifty were entitled to two votes. Religious and secular organizations which had for their aim and work the mental and moral elevation of their race and who wished to co-operate, could be represented by a maximum of two affiliated delegates. Direct membership was available to the editors of Afro-American newspapers and the principals of academic schools or colleges.<sup>47</sup> An executive committee was established of three delegates from each state, one of which had to be a woman,<sup>48</sup> thus the Council provided both for direct individual membership and group representation.

The Council claimed to be the product of the necessities of the people, and its mission was to ameliorate the deplorable industrial

45. Colored American, July 4, 1903, p.8.

46. T.T. Fortune, Plan of Council Organization, (December, 1902).

47. Indianapolis Freeman, June 1, 1907, p.3.

48. A.A. Walker, 'An Experiment in Non-partisanship by the Negro, 1884-1903,' (M.A., Howard University, 1958), p.49.

and political position of a large portion of the race, especially those in the South, who would be helped and encouraged by their more fortunate brethren in the North. The Council, as it was neither circumscribed by religious, social or political tests as a condition of membership, hoped to incorporate all existing social religious, political and benevolent organizations into a body of membership without interfering with their constitution or rules.<sup>49.</sup>

But the organization had very specific objectives: it planned to investigate and make an impartial report of all lynchings and other outrages perpetrated upon American citizens; to assist in testing the constitutionality of laws which were made for the express purpose of oppressing the Afro-Americans; to promote the work of securing legislation which in the individual states should have secured to all citizens the rights guaranteed them by the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments; to aid in the work of prison reform; to recommend a healthy migration from terror-ridden sections of the country to states where law is respected and maintained; to encourage both industrial and higher education; to promote business enterprises among the people; to educate sentiment on all lines that specifically affected the race; to inaugurate and promote plans for the moral elevation of the Afro-American people; and to urge the appropriation of school funds by the Federal Government to provide education for all citizens who are denied school privileges by discriminatory state laws.<sup>50.</sup> Further, state councils were to encourage and assist in the formation of permanent local councils, to unite such councils for effective organizational work, and generally to advance the objects and aims of the parent body. Thus the N.A.A.C. adopted a platform that was an amalgam of protest, self-help and paternalism.

---

49. C.F.Adams, The Afro-American Council (Washington,1902), p.3.

50. Ibid.,p.15; A.Walters,op.cit.,p.113.



In his address to the Rochester Convention, Fortune reminded delegates of the grievances, generally against the South, that had brought the Afro-American League into being in 1890, which odious conditions were little changed - namely, the suppression of the ballot, lynchings and mob violence, the unequal distribution of the school fund, the chain gangs, convict lease systems and dehumanization of the penal system, Jim-crow transportation, discrimination in accommodation, in hotels and places of amusement, and the problem of "wages". The first issue that caused dissension was that of separate schools and mixed marriages; the symbols of integration were eventually accepted, but not until after considerable debate and their initial rejection. By December 1898, the Executive Committee was organized, but its resolutions overlapped with the A.N.A. when they claimed that their purpose was:-

"to dispassionately consider the conditions under which the Afro-American is working out his progress as an American citizen, and devise means of ameliorating such incidental circumstances, as operate unfavorably, and to utilize such opportunities as promise the greatest good." 51.

The Address to the Nation then issued recognized the national dimensions and sectional differences of the problem.

"There are certain things which those of us who live in the South can accomplish, and certain other things which those of us who live in the North can accomplish. We may take different methods to reach the same ends, but the results will be for the common advantage.

In the North the work of agitation, of protest and petition and of political conduct, is essential to the cause. The Northern and Western mind needs to be constantly agitated upon our grievances and accurately informed as to their nature and extent. In the South the work of education and internal development can best be determined and carried on..." 52.

---

51. Washington Star, Dec.30,1898. Clipping, A.C.S. Mss. L.C.

52. 'Address to the Nation' Dec.30,1898, in New York Age, Jan.5,1899. Clippings, A.C.S. Mss. L.C.

Herein lay the obvious compromise between agitation and accommodationism, explaining paradoxical friendships like that between Fortune and Washington, for it was the recognition that each of the contending strategies had its particular sphere of application.

The N.A.A.C. set aside June 2, 1899, as a day for fasting and prayer, in order to rectify that lamentable condition which:-

"may be due to our ingratitude, sinfulness, wayward lives and estangement from God and duty. Or it may be the operations of Providence to awaken us from our lethargy and bestir us to more manly endeavours as a people and as a race."<sup>53</sup>.

The preponderance of churchmen was being felt in the Council's ideology, in a confusion of the idea that purification would dispel prejudice, which was a form of divine punishment on the Negro for some unknown sin, and the concept of a special racial mission, similar to that proposed by DuBois to the American Negro Academy in 1897.

The third Annual Convention of 1900, reporting on the progress of fund-raising for the purpose of testing before the Supreme Court the validity of the Louisiana Constitution of 1898, announced that \$391.23 had been raised.<sup>54</sup> The Committee on Rules reported the establishment of the following bureaux - legislative, literary, immigration, business, education, anti-lynching, ecclesiastical and newspaper. In 1901, the election of the President, Alexander Walters, to the Presidency of the Pan-African Council gave the Council a new impetus, for they felt that they had "joined 'Hands Across the Sea' with our (their) brothers in black."<sup>55</sup>.

Walters was at this time the chief spokesman for the association.

53. C.F.Adams, op.cit., p.22.

54. Colored American, May 6, 1899.

55. Adams, op.cit., pp.8-9.

He felt he had achieved something as Afro-American Leagues, Protective Unions and Civil Rights Clubs changed their names to Afro-American Councils, but there were still many hinderances. First and foremost, many blacks were ignorant both of their rights, and of the power of organization to secure these. The aims of the National Council were too ephemeral for the majority of the race:-

"Liberty in the abstract has no charms for them. They see nothing in her for which to make sacrifices, bleed and die."

The organization was severely handicapped by a chronic lack of funds, without which it could neither publish literature, nor employ detectives to investigate lynchings, nor test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws. The legacy of the slave master's divide and conquer philosophy persisted, leaving a lack of trust and confidence in one another, and a jealousy among the leaders themselves.<sup>56</sup> Walters was supremely optimistic that these would disappear as the race developed manhood, intelligence and wealth. He also echoed the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and called for the application of the Golden Rule. By the purification of the black community, for example Negro leaders were urged to aid in the apprehension of Negro criminals, by education and character, by appeals to the law and the President of the United States, but more especially by agitation, the Afro-American was going to become completely American.<sup>57</sup>

Walters frequently repeated the above ideas in varying combinations, but rejected any suggestion that the minister of the Gospel should preach peace rather than agitation. He felt that the theory of "the divorcement of the affairs of Church and State" was a pernicious ruse

---

56. Colored American Magazine (Aug, 1901), p.305.

57. Indianapolis Freeman, Sept.2, 1899.

to encourage the Minister to acquiesce in the face of wrong and injustice. The black preacher ought to remember at all times he was a Negro before he became a Churchman.<sup>58</sup>

The Afro-American Council did not go unchallenged. In 1901 the Colored American accused the local branch of having its circulars printed by a white printing press, instead of giving the order to a coloured printing office, and letting the black press do the advertising.<sup>59</sup> This criticism intensified the following year in accusations that the Council had "failed to deliver the goods"; it wasted its time in national conventions and afforded opportunities for strife.<sup>60</sup> The criticism by the militants was of course much stronger. The Boston Guardian accused the Council of dereliction of duty in failing to protest over Roosevelt's policy of appointments in the South. Office-holding was part of the right to vote: despite its alleged nonpartisanship, the Council was obliged to protest this abrogation of the black man's rights, even if that protest had to assume a political dimension. Trotter saw the silence as the insidious influence of Booker T. Washington, who was then in ascendancy in the Council.<sup>61</sup> He vehemently condemned the dabbling of churchmen in politics, and asserted that by October 1902, the Council was no longer in a position to claim to speak for the coloured race.<sup>62</sup>

Washington's activities in the Council appreciably affected its course. The history of the Council is inextricably linked with the fight over Washington as race leader,<sup>63</sup> for he was never able to

---

58. Colored American, Feb.9, 1901, p.3.

59. Colored American, Oct.19,1901, p.8.

60. Colored American, July 19,1902, p.8.

61. Guardian, July 26,1902, p.4.

62. Guardian, Oct.11, 1902, p.4.

63. E.L.Thornborough, 'National Afro-American League, 1887-1908' Journal of Southern History, Vol.27 (1961), p.502.

completely stifle the demands for agitation. Bishops

Walters and Clinton were able to get a firm declaration from Theodore Roosevelt against "Lily-whitism",<sup>64</sup> while John Mitchell, rather prematurely discussing the demise of the Council in 1902, named as one of its major achievements the forcing of the educated coloured man to discuss those topics he normally avoided - politics, lynchings and other outrages.<sup>65</sup> Washington's counsel of patience at the Louisville Convention of 1903 provoked a demonstration,<sup>66</sup> while even Cyrus Field Adams was taking in militaristic terms of the "battle" in the arena of public opinion.<sup>67</sup> Fortune resigned at this point, bitterly disillusioned, and the Council languished temporarily, until revived by Walters in 1905, in what looked suspiciously like an attempt to undermine the newly formed Niagara Movement. The call to the Detroit meeting pointed to the causes for reviving the Council:-

"The recent dangerous, and on the part of police officers, scandalous race riots in New York City, the lynching of 7 Negroes at Watkinsville, Ga., the demoniacal ravings of Governor Vardaman of Mississippi, and the 'Jim-Crowing' of the street cars in the leading cities of the South..."<sup>68</sup>

1906 saw a rejuvenation of the Council. Walters issued an appeal, reminding the nation of the Council's aims and principles, with two new elements. Both white and black talent was to be secured to help the cause, and the Council planned to adopt some of the American Federation of Labor's tactics. It was decided to monitor every Congressional candidate's record on Negro rights. As politics were the mere instruments for securing remedial legislation, the Council could vindicate

---

64. Colored American, Nov.1,1902, p.3.

65. J.Mitchell, Jr., 'Shall the Wheels of Race Agitation be Stopped?' Colored American Magazine (Sept.,1902), p.387.

66. New York Times, July 3,1903, p.1.

67. C.F.Adams, 'The Afro-American Council', Colored American Magazine (Mar.,1903), p.331.

68. New York Age, Aug.3,1905, p.1.



its claims to non-partisanship by being independent of parties, factions or cliques, but using them all. Despite the announcement of the intention to recruit white ability, and the invitations issued to prominent whites, including O.G. Villard, John Milholland, Joseph Smith, Joseph Manning, H.C. Humphries and Congressman Halligan, the New York Times reported increased militancy in talk of a "war on whites",<sup>69</sup> although the black press welcomed these moves as a "bridge across the mighty chasm".

Not only was this the most spectacular convention in the Council's history, but it was also distinguished by having as its guests the leaders of the Constitutional League, the Suffrage League and the Niagara Movement. The general consensus on the necessity of unity encouraged the Council to suppose that it would become the soul spokesman for the people, with the entire race at its back, who would no longer stint on the necessary finances. These were increasingly imperative, as the Council planned to set up a permanent headquarters in Washington, D.C., to monitor Congressional sentiment on the Negro. The desire for inter-organizational comity was an ideal that lived on after the 1906 Convention. The Freeman wished it as a Christmas present to the race, and the following year representatives of the same organizations were invited to the Baltimore Conference of the Afro-American Council, to make a united attack on the true enemy.<sup>70</sup> These efforts at rapprochement did not produce any concrete results, and by 1908 Walters joined the Niagara Movement. Washington's attempts "to have conservative utterances and action both in resolution and in speech,"<sup>71</sup> had not succeeded, and the Horizon rejoiced in the repudiation

---

69. New York Times, Oct.10, 1906, p.16.

70. Freeman, Dec.22, 1906, p.4; June 1,1907, p.3.

71. B.T.Washington to C.W.Anderson, Oct.4,1906. B.T.U. Mss. L.C.

of Washington's doctrines and the end of the Council as part of the Tuskegee Machine.<sup>72</sup> By 1908 the Council had folded through mass apathy, internal squabbling, and lack of funds;<sup>73</sup> the local councils had never been really dynamic, and without grass-roots backing the National Council could only make pronouncements and promises. Small local branches retained the name,<sup>74</sup> but the leadership of the race passed to other men and organizations. The Council had included both the Talented Tenth and the Washingtonians, uniting both factions of the leadership debate on a common platform, but the question of strategy had to be finally resolved before there was any feasibility of permanent union.

At first the Niagara Movement seemed to be a duplication of the work of other protest organizations, but it was designed to fill the void left by the languishing Council in 1902-5, to give voice and expression to the uncompromising element of the Talented Tenth, without any possibility of Tuskegee modifications, and also to give organizational format to the rift with Washington. After vacillating for eight years, DuBois had come out openly against Booker T. Washington in 1903 and conciliation having failed in the following year, he was ready to oppose the Tuskegee policies actively and openly. The Washingtonians at first planned to absolutely ignore the new Movement,<sup>75</sup> but their enthusiasm to revive the Council to counteract the new group, to placate anybody the Movement might offend, and their fear of guerilla-like warfare soon involved them in active opposition, despite their conviction that the Niagara Movement would never be popular.<sup>76</sup> Rather

---

72. Horizon (July, 1907), p. 20.

73. New York Age, Oct. 1908, Clipping, H.I.

74. J.R. Lynch to R.H. Terrell, Sept. 14, 1911. R.H.T. Mss. L.C.  
Lynch reported joining the Oakland, California, Afro-American League.

75. E.J. Scott to R.W. Thompson, July 10, 1905. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

76. R.W. Thompson to E.J. Scott, July 28, 1905. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

than maintain a publicity blackout, the Washingtonians were tempted to abuse their rivals, and suggested that the race ought to return to the established agencies of the N.A.A.C. and the N.N.B.L.<sup>77</sup>. The press condemned the attacks on Washington,<sup>78</sup> saying that this belittled the Movement's stature, but the Washingtonians had early spotted the weaknesses they would successfully exploit. The members were "unmonied patriots" therefore finance would be a perennial problem,<sup>79</sup> but the Tuskegee Machine galvanized itself into action on learning of Niagara's bureau for the dissemination of propaganda, which they considered to be a plan laid with skill and system to arraign the scholarship of the race against "The Wizard". Thompson foresaw "some big fighting" in the effort to wipe out the demagoguery of the Niagara Movement; for, despite his assertions that the Movement would never attract the masses, he feared it would incite the impatient and impulsive of the race, more than would the counsels of industry, character and service.<sup>80</sup> Despite Emmett J. Scott's boast that the Niagara men had been discredited by December 1905,<sup>81</sup> the Tuskegee Machine felt it necessary to obstruct the Niagara Movement to the end of its days. By the use of spies and fifth columnists to intensify inner divisions,<sup>82</sup> by the exercise of the influence of white friends and political patronage, and by the manipulation of sections of the Negro press, Washington was able to minimize the impact and the effectiveness of this challenger.<sup>83</sup>

---

77. 'Trotter and Trotterism' Ms. of editorial for New York Age, 'Negro. Organizations', Staff Correspondence, S.L. Williams, 1905. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

78. Freeman, Mar.17,1906, p.4.

79. C.W.Anderson to B.T.Washington (Personal), July 14,1905, B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

80. R.W.Thompson to E.J.Scott, July 28,1914. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

81. E.J.Scott to R.H.Terrell, Dec.15,1905. R.H.T. Mss. L.C.

82. B.T.Washington to R.T.Greener, Aug.11,1906; R.T.Greener to B.T. Washington, July 31,1906. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

83. E.M.Rudwick, 'The Niagara Movement', Journal of Negro History, Vol.42 (1957), p.199.

The fanaticism with which Washington sought to destroy Niagara is one measure of its importance. Washington in fact forced many blacks who might have preferred to work with both camps to take sides.<sup>84</sup> The Tuskegee Machine ridiculed Niagara's Declaration of Principles for containing nothing new; this was true, but what was said, was phrased in a new and more militant way. Recapping on black progress since 1895 in education, acquiring property, checking crime, uplift in the home, advance in art and literature, and the demonstration of executive ability in the conduct of religious, economic and educational institutions, the Niagara Movement still considered it necessary to indict white America for its barbarism towards the black citizens. It protested the curtailment of political and civil rights, and reaffirmed its faith in manhood suffrage; it complained against the denial of equal opportunities in economic life, such as peonage, and advocated that common school education should be free and compulsory for all American children. It demanded justice in the courts of law, and deplored the hardening of public sentiment against the race; it pleaded for health and hygiene, decent labour relations and the abolition of Jim-Crow cars. The members stressed their right to protest lest the nation thought that its black citizens were acquiescent in the face of these outrages, first among which was discrimination on the basis of race or skin colour. They pressed for adequate rewards for black veterans, and the enactment of legislation to enforce the War Amendments. They reiterated the facets of oppression, especially when imposed by the Church, but acknowledged the help of white friends. The Niagara Movement claimed that persistent agitation was the way to liberty but that the above mentioned rights conferred certain duties upon the recipients; namely,

---

84. S.B.Avery, Up From Washington; William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954. (Ph.D. University of Oregon, 1970), p.24.

the duties to vote, to respect the rights of others, to work, to obey the laws, to be clean and orderly, to send their children to school, and to respect themselves and each other.<sup>85.</sup>

In order to accomplish these aims, the Movement was organized into committees, under a secretary who was given the utmost latitude in the way he would like to develop his department,<sup>86.</sup> Each state also had a state secretary who was principally responsible for building up the state membership and keeping it in line.<sup>87.</sup> By 1906, there were 14 standing committees: legal, suffrage, civil rights, army and navy, suppression of crime, health, education, Douglass, press, pan-African, women's, junior, art, economics, and ethics and religion. The most important recommendations of these committees were that pamphlets should be issued on Negro schools, and an effort made to secure national aid to education, that the anti-tuberculosis campaign be launched, that the Niagara Movement take up the Pope case, and under certain circumstances pay for the printing of matter in newspapers.<sup>88.</sup> The Civil Rights Committee planned work in four directions - the enactment of a civil rights bill in each Northern state because of the increase in discrimination in places of public accommodation and amusement, the organization in each state in the North of a machine like the Constitutional League composed mainly of persons not members of the Movement, the improvement in travelling accommodations on local carriers in the South, and to force the service of coloured men on grand and petit juries.<sup>89.</sup>

These policies and proposals aroused interest and applause in the

- 
85. Niagara Movement, Declaration of Principles (1905), J.E.B. Mss.Schomburg.  
 86. W.E.B.DuBois to E.C.Williams, Jan.19,1907. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.  
 87. W.E.B.DuBois to M.N.Work, Oct.23,1905. M.N.W. Mss. T.I.  
 88. Abstract of Minutes,1905, Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.  
 89. G.W.Crawford, Circular, Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.



anti-Tuskegee black press,<sup>90</sup> but membership did not increase appreciably. Only 29 people from 13 states and the District of Columbia attended the first meeting, although 59 men from 17 states had signed the call. This quickly grew to 75, most of whom had been contacted by personal letters from DuBois.<sup>91</sup> They only aimed for 150 members in the first year as a maximum for harmony and effective co-operation, and advocated that membership should never exceed 500 unless conditions changed considerably.<sup>92</sup> Neither should the physical danger of belonging to such an organization be overlooked. David R. Wallace, a rank-and-file member, pointed out the difficulties, when he resigned upon taking up new employment. He did however make a positive suggestion:-

"Speaking of secret subscriptions, let me say they are absolutely necessary to the cause... All praise to those who dare speak and act openly but let us be considerate of those who would speak and act openly if they dared."<sup>93</sup>

Heralded by the rhetoric of J. Max Barber, the Voice of the Negro faithfully reported the Movement's activities until it was able to organize its own organs. The Moon which issued only a few editions in 1906, died early. The Age gloated over this "unlamentable death" by claiming that the people were tired of the continual dirge of despair and needed something bright, hopeful and encouraging.<sup>94</sup> Certainly the Moon did not meet the requirements and tastes of the literary public. It was replaced by the Horizon, which published, with many setbacks, until the Movement folded in 1910.

The members of the Movement were mainly ministers, lawyers, editors, businessmen and teachers. DuBois, the first general secretary gave

---

90. Broadax, Aug. 5 and 12, 1905.

91. W.E.B. DuBois to A.H. Grimké and K. Miller, Aug. 13, 1905, A.H.G. Mss. H.U.  
W.E.B. DuBois to F.J. Grimké, Aug. 30, 1905. F.J.G. Mss. H.U.

92. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Growth of the Niagara Movement', Voice of the Negro, Vol. III (Jan. 1906), p. 43.

93. D.R. Wallace to W.E.B. DuBois, Oct. 16, 1908 in H. Aptheker, The Papers of W.E.B. DuBois, Vol. I, p. 142.

94. New York Age, July 26, 1906, p. 1.

the honour of founding it to F.L. McGhee for the suggestion, C.E. Bentley for the organization, and W.M. Trotter for the platform's backbone. The organization was to remain the preserve of the educated and enlightened élite, for the race was regarded as too scattered and disorganized to be a stable constituency.<sup>95</sup> However, in its first year it established strong local organizations, in 17 of the 30 states in which it was represented, and was rapidly organizing in the other 13. It had inaugurated an annual and simultaneous celebration throughout the nation, to commemorate the work of the great abolitionists, and joined in the celebration of Garrison's 100th anniversary. More directly, it claimed to have encouraged a free and unsubsidized black press, and to have aroused and focused public opinion. By putting new life into the older organizations throughout the nation, it helped to establish strong local bases to back up the national organization. The Thanksgiving meetings brought together 10,000 blacks, and had attracted some of the founders and prominent members of the Afro-American Council, while the following papers, voluntarily and unpaid, advocated Niagara principles - Conservator (Illinois), Gazette (Ohio), The Home News (Virginia), The Lancet (Maryland), Guardian (Massachusetts), Bee (Washington, D.C.), Advocate (Oregon), Voice of the Negro (Georgia), and The Moon (Tennessee and Georgia).<sup>96</sup>

The Harper's Ferry meeting in August, 1906, issued the Address to the Country, which in firm and unfaltering language put the principles of the Movement before the public in a cogent and stirring form. Claiming to speak for the salvation of America and the preservation of

---

95. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Niagara Movement', Voice of the Negro, Vol. II (Sept., 1905), p. 619.

96. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Growth of the Niagara Movement', pp. 43-44.

American idealism, the Niagara Movement harked back to the spirit of the abolitionists and such black heroes as Nat Turner. It also warned that the might of the coloured races would not be forever dormant:-

"The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace."<sup>97</sup>.

The threatened uprising of the community of the oppressed went unheeded by most commentators, who concentrated on the immediate demands. The Niagara Movement claimed to have strengthened the moral fibre of the race and the nation, for central to all the Movement's pronouncements was the reiteration of the concept of the black man's mission. The Movement knew it was opposed by most white Southerners, many blacks who doubted the wisdom of agitation and those who were afraid of it, and those whites who, while they had the welfare of the Negro at heart, shrank from the consequences of militant agitation. They knew that their principles had only reached comparatively few of the masses of the race, yet they believed that ideas travelled with amazing rapidity, gathering accelerated force as they go. Having reached the leaders, they depended on them in their turn to reach the masses. The Movement did not plan to cover the whole country, but rather it hoped to secure two or three significant court decisions that would affect the whole race.<sup>98</sup> Even Alexander's Magazine was forced to admit the fearlessness and sincerity of the Niagara men, and forecast success for them when quantity was added to quality, and when those principles which inspired the founders of the Movement were embodied in the

---

97. Niagara Movement, Address to the Country, (Harper's Ferry, 1906).

98. J.M.Barber, 'The Niagara Movement at Harper's Ferry,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.III, (Oct.1906), p.403.

national laws and constitutions.<sup>99.</sup>

By 1907, Niagara boasted the following achievements - ownership of the celebrated steel engraved plate of John Brown by Sartain, the fighting and winning of the "Pope" "Jim-Crow" case, help in the defence of the coloured soldiers after Brownsville, 400 members in 35 states, and the continuation of agitation for Negro rights, so that the country realized that all black men were not cowards, beggars or compromisers.<sup>100.</sup>

The manner and strength of the Niagara Movement's language shocked and alarmed some blacks, who condemned it for its impudence and imprudence, although much was forgiven when it was realized that all the agitation was aimed at the greater racial good.<sup>101.</sup> The rights of free speech however spilled over into the internal workings of the association; by the winter of 1907-8 it fell to DuBois to mediate in a dispute between Trotter and Morgan in the Massachusetts branch over powers and membership.<sup>102.</sup> The decision was not in Trotter's favour, after which he tended to be disruptive and argumentative at meetings, exercising his privileges of "free speech" even at the expense of the Movement's best interests.

In 1908 the Niagara Movement prepared to take the initiative in inviting the other major racial organizations to co-operate. It had already been working with an inter-racial body, the Constitutional League, which had been founded by J. Milholland in 1904 to secure civil and suffrage rights, to pass the Platt Bill, to reduce Southern representation in Congress, and to vindicate the Brownsville soldiers.<sup>103.</sup>

---

99. A.H. Grimké, 'A Brief History of the Niagara Movement', Alexander's Magazine, Vol.IV (Sept.1907), pp.249-50.

100. Horizon (Sept.1907), p.4.

101. Freeman, July 13, p.4., Sept.21, p.1, Oct.5, p.3, 1907; Jan.11,p.4, April 18,p.1, 1908.

102. Midwinter Meeting, 1907-8. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.

103. Rudwick, op.cit., pp.183-4; W.E.B.DuBois to J.E.Milholland, 27 Mar. 1907. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.

(The Niagara Movement had appointed a special committee under F.L. McGhee to co-operate with the Constitutional League in 1907 to secure the latter objective.) Further in 1907, the Movement had even invited a white woman socialist, Mary White Ovington, to join.<sup>104</sup> In June 1908, the call to the Fourth Annual Meeting invited the Afro-American Council, the National Independent Political League and the American Negro Academy to attend.<sup>105</sup> It recognized that each organization had its own *raison d'être* - the Movement had crystallized a faint dissatisfaction into an organized and articulate protest, the Council was the first and oldest of the organizations, the Political League was a union of certain men in both these organizations to effect one great object, and the Academy was a step towards Art and Science. All had the same difficulty, namely money; the combined annual dues were \$14 per year, a prohibitive sum to the average black, and the money was really wasted because of unnecessary duplication. The Oberlin meeting was opportune in timing, on the eve of a Presidential election, and auspicious in place, as it transpired at the capital of the Underground Railway and at the scene of the first efforts on behalf of higher education for blacks.<sup>106</sup> (The Niagara Movement in fact liked to select venues of symbolic importance.) Little came of this attempt, and by 1909 the Movement was more dead than alive, although it had made two significant advances. It had proven that opposition to Booker T. Washington was feasible, for it had shaken his hold on the Afro-American Council and the black press, and it had successfully carried cases to the Supreme Court, and prosecuted an

---

104. M.W.Ovington to W.E.B. DuBois, April 20, 1907. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.

105. E.C.Williams, Announcement of 4th Annual Meeting, 1908. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

106. Horizon (June, 1908), p.5.



action in the Federal Court. However from 1908 onwards, it was immobilized by lack of funds.<sup>107</sup> The Movement's plans to bring suits against the ocean steamship lines that ran between New York and Southern points for refusing to sell and furnish first-class fares and accommodations to blacks (as these were liable to federal law rather than the jurisdiction of the states, it was assumed that a favourable decision might be more easily obtained), and to ensure equal accommodations in parlor cars, sleeping cars, ladies' coaches and chair cars, never came to fruition.<sup>108</sup>

The Movement's journal shared the financial difficulties of its parent. In a plea for assured financial backing, the editors of the Horizon summed up their situation:-

"Our friends of the white race are of the past and passing generation. Our own people have almost reached the depths where submission and subordination are counted as virtues, and where apathy to real conditions is called optimism."<sup>109</sup>

This situation had economic repercussions on subscriptions to the magazine, yet an enlarged Horizon, of 16 pages, 8 x 11 inches in size, was scheduled to appear on the 15th of each month, commencing on November 15, 1909,<sup>110</sup> but was delayed when the business manager fell, breaking his arm. It was to be a digest of all things concerning the Negro race, and produced in co-operation with Milholland and J. Max Barber.<sup>111</sup> The result of all these efforts was that DuBois was able to claim that by the end of 1909, he edited a radical paper which advocated Negro equality and human equality, universal suffrage

---

107. F.L.McGhee, Report to Fifth Niagara Movement Convention, Aug.14,1909. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

108. F.L.McGhee to 'Dear Colleague', form letter, Feb. 1908, J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

109. W.E.B.DuBois, J.H.Waldron, F.H.M.Murray and L.H.Hershaw to the Guarantors of the Horizon, April 29,1909. F.H.M.M. Mss. H.U.

110. W.E.B.DuBois and F.L.Bailey to the Guarantors of the Horizon, Sept, 1,1909. F.H.M.M. Mss. H.U.

111. W.E.B.DuBois to the Guarantors of the Horizon, Mar.9,1909. F.H.M.M. Mss. H.U.

including votes for women, the abolition of war, the taxation of monopoly values, the gradual socialization of capital and the overthrow of persecution and dogmatism in the name of religion.<sup>112.</sup> It claimed that the Niagara Movement had encouraged increasing spiritual unrest, sterner impatience with cowardice and deeper determination to be men at any cost.<sup>113.</sup> Despite this death rattle, both the Niagara Movement and the Horizon expired in 1910, when fittingly, the last issue of the Horizon announced the advent of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.<sup>114.</sup>

The above mentioned are among the most well-known of the organizations of the Talented Tenth, but there were many smaller local or professional organizations that merit attention. The Negro Year Books for 1912 until 1919 listed 28 national organizations, including the A.N.A. and the Negro Society for Historical Research (but not the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History): of these 4 were directly concerned with education, 10 were associations of businessmen or professionals, 2 were women's, 3 were inter-racial, 3 were overtly political, and 4 were avowedly racial uplift organizations, namely the National Sentiment Moulding Bureau, the National Race Congress of America, the International Uplift League and the Lincoln League of America.<sup>115.</sup> This however would not seem to be an all-inclusive list, but does illustrate that the multiplicity of these organizations was an index of their ineffectiveness.

The agitation for political and civil rights was centred on Boston

---

112. Horizon (Nov./Dec., 1909), p.1.

113. Ibid., p.9.

114. Horizon (July, 1910).

115. M.N.Work, Negro Year Book, 1912 pp.133-34; 1913; 1914-15 p.364; 1918-19.

and New England, the home of Abolitionism, but was not confined to it. The Radical Protective Association of Boston was one of the first to endorse an open attack on Washington's advice to his people to abjure politics,<sup>116.</sup> and echoed the resolve of the Constitutional Rights Association of the United States to defend and contend for every right guaranteed by the United States Constitution.<sup>117.</sup> These organizations were mainly agitational and propagandistic, preferring to discuss their problems rather than to do any concrete works of racial uplift.

The size of many of the agitational groups is difficult to determine, but by 1903 the Boston Suffrage League, which had been founded after the Riot, could muster 51 blacks at Trotter's home to condemn Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican Party.<sup>118.</sup> The following year, the National Equal Suffrage League was launched in Providence, Rhode Island, to lay the wrongs of the race before America.<sup>119.</sup> Corresponding to the Boston activity was the Equal Opportunity League, organized by Charles E. Bentley of Chicago in 1903. Bentley was a committed radical, as were other prominent members, namely E.H. Morris, Daniel H. Williams and F.L. Barnett. Yet the League included S. Laing Williams, the Tuskegee man in Chicago.<sup>120.</sup> It is not clear whether he was a bona fide member, underlining the uneasy synthesis between the two groups, or whether he was a spy.

The most enduring of the political leagues was that succession of Associations that descended from the Negro American Political League,

---

116. Boston Traveller, 25 Oct.1901, Clipping, Trotter folder, Harvard Archives.

117. Colored American Magazine (Oct.1900), p.309.

118. Boston Evening Transcript, Sept.2,1903, p.14.

119. Guardian, Oct.15, p.1; Oct.22, pp.1,4 and 8; 1904.

120. Broadax, Dec.19,1903, p.1.

founded in Philadelphia in 1908. In contrast to the N.A.A.C.P. this organization was practically all-black, and went through a series of reorganizations and name-changes, becoming the National Independent Political League, the National Independent Political Rights League, the National Independent Equal Rights League, and finally the National Equal Rights League. The main source of continuity was Trotter's activities as corresponding secretary, however the league was never national nor independent,<sup>121.</sup> and became more absorbed in how Negro votes should be cast, rather than how suffrage rights could be secured. Having backed Woodrow Wilson in the 1912 Election, it faced profound embarrassment by his policies to blacks, and his unwillingness to rectify abuses, for example, the segregation of clerks in the Civil Service.<sup>122.</sup> Wilson did not repay his political debts to these blacks, if he even considered that he had any, for on American entry into World War I in the wake of the East St. Louis massacre, the N.E.R.L. issued an address to the country, reminding the nation of the suffering of blacks, and of their service to their country, and demanding that America provide Democracy at home as well as abroad.<sup>123.</sup>

This League had never been non-partisan, despite its claim to represent "independent, manly, intelligent and unselfish colored voters."<sup>124.</sup> To correct this, the Independent Political Council was formed in 1917, whose primary purpose and immediate aim was to fight for:-

- 
121. S.R.Fox, The Guardian of Boston (New York, 1970), pp.140-42.  
A.Meier, Negro Thought in America; Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Michigan, 1963), pp.186-9.
122. National Independent Political League, Memorial to President Wilson, Sept.17, 1913. W.W. Mss. L.C.
123. National Equal Rights League, Address to the Country, Sept.20, 1917. W.W. Mss. L.C.
124. Pittsburg Courier, June 28, 1912, p.1.

"a progressive, clean and honest government, in City, State and Nation in general, and for a just political status for the colored people in particular."

It claimed to be non-partisan, and neither racially nor sexually exclusive, and it planned to direct the potential ethical and mental energy of the nation upon disfranchisement, social segregation and iniquitous discriminatory laws, and to point out the indispensable need for the ballot. It planned to crystallize sentiment against the present conditions through an organized educational campaign, to compile and distribute literature and conduct public lectures on the race's political and economic destiny, to appraise men and measures in public life, to expose political "marplots" in the legislative, judicial and executive departments, to criticize and denounce selfish and self-styled leaders, and finally to devote its influence uncompromisingly to the advocacy of all principles, to the endorsement of all men, and to the support of all movements working for justice and progress.<sup>125</sup> The movement was founded in fiery and flowery oratory, but it was quickly forgotten.

New York was another major centre of black organization. In 1895, on the initiative of the Douglass Club, and despite the opposition of the Sons of New York, New York blacks organized to test the enforcement of the Malby Law, which forbade discrimination in restaurants, hotels, saloons etc. Nearly all the 200 members of the Douglass Club were considered among the city's black élite; there was however little occupational or educational difference between the two clubs. The divide was tactical, the Douglass Club favouring active enforcement of legal rights, while the Sons of New York felt safer if the coloured race confined themselves to their development, and a social life among their own people. It was an early manifestation of the radical/

---

125. Messenger, Vol.I (Nov.1917), p.33.



conservative, integrationist/isolationist, activist/pacifist divide.<sup>126.</sup>

The anti-Negro riots of 1900 gave birth to the Citizens' Protective League of New York, who produced considerable evidence in the form of sworn affidavits to illustrate police complicity and brutality in the riots of August 15-16, 1900. However the court proceedings that it was depending upon for retribution degenerated into a legal farce, after which it foundered on indifference.<sup>127.</sup> A Colored Literary League protested against the increase in lynchings throughout the country and the existence of peonage in the South, and organized a mass meeting to impress their protest on President Roosevelt.<sup>128.</sup> New York had one particularly élitist organization, the African Society for Mutual Relief, whose members largely represented the old families, those who considered they had more intelligence and means than average, and to which no new member could be elected until an old one died.<sup>129.</sup> In 1906 was founded the Committee for improving the Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York, (C.I.I.C.N.Y.) which later was one of the three organizations that merged to become the National Urban League (N.U.L.) in 1911, while New York City was also the birthplace of the N.A.A.C.P. On the other hand, the varied conditions of New York encouraged the more revolutionary as well as the traditional movements to flourish. Marcus Garvey found an attentive audience on the streets of Harlem, while a society called the African Blood Brotherhood thrived between 1917 and 1923 on the aggressiveness created by the War. A revolutionary secret order, it emphasized the fight for Negro rights in the U.S.

---

126. New York Times, June 19, pp.3-4; June 20, p.9; June 21, p.9; June 22, p.9; June 30, p.20; July 3, p.1; Oct.14, p.5, 1895.

127. Citizens Protective League, Story of a Riot (New York, 1900). G. Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto (New York, 1966).

128. Boston Evening Transcript, Aug.7, 1903, p.3.

129. M.W. Ovington to O.G.Villard, May 28, 1908. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton, Harvard.

as the prelude and prerequisite to aiding the black man's struggle in other parts of the world. Its platform advocated armed resistance against lynchings, self-determination for the Negro in those states where he constituted a majority, the right of franchise in the South, the struggle for equal rights and against Jim-Crow, the organization of the Negro into the established trade unions, opposition to the discrimination practised by Unions, and the establishment of black trade unions for those barred from white ones, and finally a world-struggle to free Africa and defeat Imperialism there and in the West Indies. Although it claimed 2,500 members, which is dubious, it did launch the Crusader as its official organ. It opposed black enlistment in the War, as it was a white man's war for things the black man could not enjoy at home; the first duty of the black was to make a stand in the U.S. This organization was conceived in 1917 by intellectual, urban New Yorkers, many of whom later became Communists, but by 1919 its stronghold was in the South, despite the dangers, among West Virginia miners.<sup>130.</sup>

The African Blood Brotherhood was part of a long succession of secret orders, for "with the average Afro-American, his lodge, his church and his political party were his Holy Trinity", and often his devotion to the first outweighed his fealty to the other two combined.<sup>131.</sup> In fact, certain editors advocated that the churches, secret societies and fraternal bodies should take over from the protective associations on the race question, for they had men of ability, money and the necessary influence.<sup>132.</sup> 1890-1901 was the "Golden Age" of the Fraternity, when 366 new beneficial orders were established in addition to the 124 founded

---

130. W.P.A. Project, Negroes in New York. Schomburg.

131. Baltimore Afro-American, Aug.3,1895, p.1.

132. Colored American, April 2, 1898, p.4.

in the previous decade.<sup>133</sup> Some orders, like the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers, had an economic motive, namely self-help.<sup>134</sup> In spite of their declared aims of lofty idealism, race pride or economic self-help, these organizations normally attracted working or lower middle class support rather than appealing to the Talented Tenth.

Instead of the benevolent society, the Talented Tenth developed their own secret orders in the shape of the college or graduate fraternities. One of the oldest was Alpha Phi Alpha, which was organized at Cornell in 1905-6, as a social and literary organization, and as a reply to the exclusion practised by the white fraternities. (The black students had a fair knowledge of the ceremonies of the white fraternities, as many of them were employed by them, in the effort to finance and pursue their college careers.) The brotherhood existed more for the improvement of its members in scholarship and morality than to give them a good time, and at first was very exclusive, opposing the admission of chapters in all schools not of Grade A recognition, that is all black institutions other than Howard.<sup>135</sup> At about the same time, Pi Gamma Omicron was organized with 11 members at Ohio State University.<sup>136</sup> In 1914, "because of the manifest need for a closer fellowship between the students" of the Chicago area, Upsilon Sigma Kappa was organized to encourage inter-collegiate strength along social and intellectual lines.<sup>137</sup>

---

133. C.H. Wesley, History of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, 1898-1954 (Washington, D.C., 1955), p.20.

134. K. Miller, 'A Great Negro Enterprise', New England Magazine, Vol.32 (1905), p.648.

135. C.H. Wesley, A History of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity (Washington, D.C., 1939), pp.22, 75, 76.

136. New York Times, Jan.4, 1905, p.11.

137. R.N. Arthurton to G.E. Haynes, Mar.20, 1914. G.E.H. Mss. Fisk.

The girls quickly followed suit, founding Delta Sigma Theta at Howard in 1913. In the large majority in black colleges, the girls aimed "to establish and maintain a high standard of morality and scholarship among women".<sup>138.</sup> The oath to strive for the highest attainments without lowering these for temporary benefits, to preserve health, not to gossip, to purify the home, to protest against double standards in morals, to take an active interest in the national welfare, to honour the race and to struggle on despite the double handicap of race and sex,<sup>139.</sup> was designed to encapsulate all the desirable attributes of womanhood, and to promote and preserve these virtues.

Fraternities and sororities were only open to those invited to join, either on the basis of character or scholastic merit, but usually a combination of both, and those who were considered socially desirable. Other fraternities were organized to promote a particular field of endeavour, for example Delta Phi Delta, a late arrival on the fraternity scene, which was founded to promote the science and art of journalism.<sup>140.</sup> At first a source of pride and elitism because they selected social groups and fostered permanent friendships therein, and because they provided housing and other amenities, the fraternities were soon criticized for moral looseness, fostering snobbery, overemphasizing social functions, and setting their interests above those of the college as a whole, but they undoubtedly contributed to the formation of social norms and a sense of unity among college alumni.<sup>141.</sup>

There is a plethora of fragmentary information on the protest

---

138. M.E.Vroman, Shaped to its Purpose (New York, 1965), p.5.

139. Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Oath, 1915. M.C.T. Mss., L.C.

140. Delta Phi Delta Constitution, J.W.J. Mem.Coll., Yale.

141. M.E.Thompson, 'What Contribution can Fraternities Make to the Moral and Social Development of Students in Negro Colleges,' Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, Vol.I (1933), pp.14-16.

activities of small groups of the Talented Tenth, most of which associations mushroomed quickly and died equally fast. The National Council of Colored Men, the ideological precursor to Niagara, claimed that the status of their race in the United States bore a closer analogy to that of denizens than to native born citizens, and in at least three states was a farce. Only a matter of weeks after the placatory Atlanta Exposition Address, this convention verbosely denounced injustice, advocated organization and race pride, and rejected the philosophy of patience and accommodationism. Throwing scorn on the methods of Tuskegee, and reported at length in the white press, these men openly stated:-

"We mark the opening of the militant period of our race in this country. That time we conceive to be now, and our advice is for every member of the race henceforth to employ every weapon of every kind of warfare legitimately and courageously for the demand of every right." 142.

The time was not yet ripe for such forthright demands, but this convention served notice to whites and blacks alike that there were those among the prominent blacks who would neither acquiesce in prejudice, nor accept the leadership tutelage of Booker T. Washington.

The American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia was organized on October 25, 1897, to hold monthly meetings for the reading and discussion of papers, and comprised 2 churchmen, 2 journalists, 3 lawyers, 2 authors, 2 educators, 2 artisans, 2 small businessmen, a postal clerk and a representative of a benevolent society.<sup>143</sup> The Equal Rights Council, centred on Washington, D.C., claimed a membership of 200,000, and aimed to investigate and prosecute outrages

---

142. New York Times, Dec.14, 1895, p.1.

143. H.H.Wayman, 'The American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia and its Officers', Colored American Magazine (Feb.1903), p.287.



against the civil and personal rights of blacks.<sup>144.</sup>

Other organizations were more concerned with practical subjects, such as the Frederick Douglass Relief Association, which held monthly meetings to discuss co-operation for uplift.<sup>145.</sup> While the well-known movements made the headlines, ardent young blacks planned to reach "the unreached" in 1902, by means of the Negro Young People's Christian Congress. This conference listened to Bishop Gaines and Booker T. Washington advise them that the race problem would adjust itself naturally, but they adopted a militant position.<sup>146.</sup> The Loyal Legion of Labor, founded in 1902, although it claimed to be a union of conservative businessmen, organized "to protect the exercise of the rights of citizenship and to educate the masses away from evils", had on its Supreme Council many distinguished members of the Talented Tenth. Non-partisan and nondenominational, it was primarily educative and religious, and planned to apply business principles to the organization of protest and racial uplift.<sup>147.</sup>

Local groups occasionally felt the need for action rather than words, such as the Defence League of Letter Writers, who aimed to concentrate 100 letters within 30 days on any detractor of the race.<sup>148.</sup> The South was not without representation in this work of protest, although platforms and policies were suitably tempered. The 1906 Address of the Georgia Equal Rights Convention was signed by H.M. Turner, W.E.B. DuBois, J.M. Barber and John Hope among others, and followed the almost traditional format of reminding the whites of black Americanism and service during

---

144. Baltimore Afro-American, Aug.3,1895, p.1.

145. Colored American, Mar.19, 1898, p.2.

146. New York Times, Mar.3,1901, p.3; Aug.7 and 10,1902; Aug.6,1906, p.2.

147. Colored American Magazine (Dec.1902), pp.223-6; (June 1902), p.111.

148. Indianapolis Freeman, Sept.9, 1905, p.4.

slavery, of their poverty which hampered their educational and self-help ventures, of the restrictive economic opportunities and the oppressive labour laws, and of their progress since Emancipation. The Georgia environment had its effect on the content and style, for the signatories, although making clear and insistent demands, were obliged to conciliate some of the white man's prejudices.<sup>149.</sup>

More common in the South were organizations like the Savannah Men's Sunday Club, an organization of Savannah's social élite brought together by Monroe Nathan Work on April 16, 1905, to carry out a wide variety of service projects and cultural programmes. Based on his experiences from his student days in Chicago where Work had been a member of the Chicago Sunday Men's Forum and knew of the Institutional Church and Social Settlement activities of R.R. Wright and R.C. Ransom, Work, although not converting the Savannah Men's Sunday Club into a branch of the Niagara Movement, used it as a platform from which to disseminate the movement's doctrines.<sup>150.</sup> Simultaneously he used it as a base from which to conduct practical social work, such as the Health Week of 1905. He planned to organize teams of physicians, dentists and laymen, and use the Churches to contact the people, and solicit the co-operation of the ministers. The result was that:-

"the gospel of good health was presented to the people in a language so simple the most ignorant could comprehend what was being said."<sup>151.</sup>

Even after M.N.Work left for Tuskegee, overcoming his early reservations about Washington's philosophy, the Club prospered. By 1920, it claimed to have been influential in a boom in black business and 'a hundred per

---

149. *Voice of the Negro*, Vol.III (1906), pp.175-7.

150. L.E.O. Hines, *A Black Sociologist in Time of Trouble: Monroe Nathan Work 1866-1945* (M.A.Thesis, Auburn University, 1972), pp.24-28.

151. *Statement*, Oct.14, 1930. M.N.W. Mss. T.I.

cent increase in racial patriotism', through sending out a pair of speakers every Sunday to every church in the city to preach the doctrines of racial solidarity and racial patronage.<sup>152</sup> In this way the Talented Tenth encouraged social uplift and racial pride concurrently.

The Mu-So-Lit Club of Washington, D.C., was able to claim a membership of 100 in 1914, and was one of the agencies responsible for bringing the faculty at Howard University into closer contact with the other citizens of the city.<sup>153</sup> By 1919, these organizations were all making a concerted effort to prevent the duplication of resources, and united in the National Federation of Colored Organizations and Institutions of America, a federation of both inter- and intra-racial organizations, dedicated to the securing of citizenship rights, political justice and industrial freedom. It was composed of delegates from each association, and the membership had a voice but no vote.<sup>154</sup> There was a definite need to pool resources, but in many ways this abundance of mushrooming organizations ensured their survival. They could never all be crushed or eliminated, and, as one expired, another flourished in its place.

Intra-racial organizations facilitated communication within the Talented Tenth, giving it a chance to play a positive, active role in racial leadership. Some of the organizations were predominantly devoted to intellectual or cultural pursuits, but these provided a forum for debate and a social meeting place. At the same time they had practical functions, namely the rediscovery of the race's history and heritage, and the articulate codification and formulation of racial philosophies. The American Negro Academy in particular was the embodiment

---

152. Savannah Journal, Feb. 28, 1902. Clipping, M.N.W. Mss. T.I.

153. Unidentified clipping, no date. Mu-So-Lit Records, H.U.

154. Baltimore Daily Herald, March 27, 1919. Clipping, N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

of the concept of the Talented Tenth; its members were committed to use their talents for racial leadership and intellectual and cultural development. Some organizations like the National Afro-American Council had within them the potential to reconcile the various approaches to racial leadership, especially the controversy between the "radical" and the "conservative" factions, illustrating that the gulf between these two groups was never so wide that it could not have been bridged. However feelings ran too deep to wield all the contending groups into a permanent union. In comparison, the Niagara Movement was avowedly a radical and protest organization, thus limiting itself to include only the bravest of the Talented Tenth. It did cause alarm to the Tuskegee Machine, but its appeal was only to the militant few. Many other organizations added to the overall picture of Talented Tenth activity, if on a local rather than a national scale. These were often political or social gatherings, although some did come into being, precipitated by a local crisis or in order to further social work. Although the majority of the race belonged to lodges or to benevolent societies rather than the protest or betterment organizations, it was through the latter that the Talented Tenth endeavoured to "lead" the race, by defending it against verbal attacks, by encouraging it to raise its educational, social and living standards, by encouraging race pride and by mobilizing sentiment and effort in the black cause. Apart from some legal work and social settlement activity, the role of the Talented Tenth through their organizations was inspirational rather than executive or decision-making. They were more effective when dealing with racial morale rather than the fundamental socio-economic factors of the American racial problem.

## CHAPTER V

THE LEADERSHIP DEBATE: METHODS AND ALTERNATIVES

The Talented Tenth were dedicated to a leadership role, yet nowhere had any of the theorizers who had identified the Talented Tenth as a group explicitly defined the nature of this role. This paved the way for debate, discussion and disagreement within the ranks of the Talented Tenth, and allowed plenty of scope for the expression of alternative modes of leadership. The Talented Tenth were not unanimous on the most promising means of achieving a solution to the racial problem, a lack of consensus which at times led them to affiliate with other "non-Talented Tenth" groups. Central to the whole debate on strategy was the reaction of the Talented Tenth to Booker T. Washington and the accommodationist philosophy he preached, but there were various factions aspiring to leadership, namely the politicians, the Church, the separatists and emigrationists, the demagogues like Garvey, and latterly the socialists. These varying categories at varying times won the support or the scorn of different individuals from among the Talented Tenth, an ambivalence which reflected the turmoil of the period both in conditions and in ideology.

Many blacks felt that the methodology of leadership ought to be a secondary consideration when compared to the more important goal of racial unity. This unity could be purely economic, as in the patronage of race enterprises,<sup>1</sup> or it could be social. A lack of cohesiveness due to factions and cliques within the race was never more vividly exemplified than when three inaugural balls were organized on the same evening

---

1. Colored American, Nov.16,1901, p.8.

St.C. Drake and H. Cayton, Black Metropolis (London,1946), pp.430-433.



to accommodate "personal and social differences".<sup>2</sup> Disagreement on non-essentials was permissible, but not if it circumscribed the united thought and effort of the race.<sup>3</sup> Pleas for organizations to correlate all aspects of racial activity were frequent,<sup>4</sup> not only from the blacks themselves but also from their white patrons. O.G. Villard preached "solidarity" and freedom from jealousy of the successful,<sup>5</sup> without appreciating either the irony or the possible consequences of his words. The Tuskegee Machine consistently ascribed the attacks on its policies to jealousy of its achievements, rather than crediting its opponents with any conviction.<sup>6</sup> Moton felt that Christianity and patience would bring unity about, eventually, and others felt that Oppression was God's way of driving the race together for self-protection.<sup>7</sup> A Washington editor could point to the example of the Israelites in the possibilities growing out of thrift and industry, while the Guardian feared lest the race, in a mistaken sense of unity, failed to diversify its energies, thus becoming confined and restricted to certain spheres.<sup>8</sup> With more regard for impact than consistency, the black press would identify with the Jews, the early Christians or Jesus Christ, at random, projecting a racial image of persecuted and saint-like martyrdom. No organization ever came forward to mobilize and utilize this sentiment for group cohesiveness and unity, thus the latter remained one of the acknowledged aims of all factions, while none could claim its achievement.

---

2. New York Age, Mar. 8, 1906, p. 8.

3. New York Age, May 8, 1907, p. 8.

4. Alexander's Magazine, Vol. V, (Nov. 15, 1907), p. 28.

5. Speech, April 4, 1909 at Tuskegee. O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

6. R.R. Moton to O.G. Villard, Nov. 15, 1910. B.T.W. Mss. L.C. and O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

7. Colored American, June 14, 1902, p. 8.

8. Colored American, July 5, 1902, p. 8; Guardian, Oct. 25, 1902, p. 1.

The appeal to "consecration, service and sacrifice" as a race pinned its hopes on the Constitution, philanthropy and religion in appealing to the conscience of the nation and the sense of justice of the American people,<sup>9</sup> but accomplished little in dealing with the realities of the race problem. The Talented Tenth divided between those who would prefer to evolve gradually towards full and equal citizenship, and those who would agitate to accelerate the process, either by direct protest action, or by the more subtle means of litigation, in deliberately "staged" test cases.<sup>10</sup> Despite the intense debate within the group, the method commonly associated with the Talented Tenth was agitation. The honeymoon period after the Atlanta Exposition Address was never strong enough to still the voice of protest. In complaint against its message, John Hope counselled his people to

"Be discontented. Be dissatisfied...Be as restless as the tempestuous billows on the boundless sea. Let your discontent break mountain-high against the wall of prejudice..."<sup>11</sup>

Even among the more conservative of the black editors, consternation was expressed that the bulk of the race could be satisfied "with a crumb, when the whole loaf of citizenship and manhood is guaranteed to us by law", and they advised that the Negro should "stand by his guns", if attacked, (but should work constructively if not).<sup>12</sup> The spectre of black revolution haunted the white press, who reported with an alarm verging on panic any advice to revolt, such as that from Rev. M.F. Jacobs of A.M.E.Zion Church, "You should contend unto death for your rights. No people and no race has ever been anything without the

---

9. Boston Chronicle, Sept.28,1933; Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City), Mar.22,1934. Clippings, K.M. Mss. H.U.

10. J.A. Garraty, Quarrels That Have Shaped the Constitution (New York, 1966), p.146.

11. R.Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York,1948), pp.114-5.

12. Colored American, May 25,1901, p.8; Sept.6,1902, p.8.

shedding of blood".<sup>13.</sup> But the white newspapers failed to differentiate between the advocates of aggressive and defensive violence; in fact, any talk of a black uprising before World War I was not only rare, but was also an anathema to most black leaders.

The radicals were taunted by challenges to practise what they preached, namely to go into restaurants, theatres or hotels, and exhibit their courage in that way,<sup>14.</sup> by risking eviction or incarceration. The time was not yet auspicious for this type of action. The educated churchmen took a firm stand, condemning the conservatives as traitors, deficient in true manhood or self-respect. However, when faced with the horror of the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906, F.J. Grimké, advised caution, discretion and progressive development, but only in order to save innocent lives. He wanted federal officials if dismissed on account of their colour, to protest vigorously, and his militancy reached a peak in a series of stirring addresses to returning veterans in 1919, which culminated in Claude McKay's "If We Must Die..." being read from the pulpit.<sup>15.</sup> Pastors like Grimké were in a position to advocate agitation, for they were neither dependent on white philanthropy nor on the tutelage of Booker T. Washington.

W.E.B. DuBois, drifting more and more into the role of an activist, when assessing the value of agitation, admitted that it was not a pleasant role to play. Necessity prevailed over nicety and he came to espouse the cause of agitation, for he believed that this was the predecessor of all great reform movements.<sup>16.</sup> His aim was to be able to

---

13. New York Times, Mar.14,1904, p.5.

14. New York Age, reprinted in Colored American, Mar.5, 1904.

15. C.G.Woodson, The Works of F.J.Grimké (3 Vols., Washington, D.C., 1942), Sermons: Nov.20,1900,p.238; Oct.7,1906,p.414; Mar.27,1909, p.429; Nov.27,1919, p.607.

16. W.E.B.DuBois, 'The Value of Agitation', The Voice, Mar.27,1909,p.109.

criticize people like Washington or Moton or Taft openly and courteously, and to retain a position from which it would always be possible for him to exercise freedom of speech.<sup>17</sup>

The most renowned exponent of agitation must surely have been William Monroe Trotter. He was very aware that any co-operation with whites restricted the efficacy of this method, and believed that, as in the N.A.A.C.P., "expenses paid" was fatal to black enterprises. He was in the forefront of the attack on Washington, denouncing him at the Radical Protective Association, and launching the Guardian as his vehicle of anti-Tuskegee propaganda. Speeches promising political activity and agitation stirred some to radicalism, at a time when racial conservatism was both fashionable and prudent. Trotter appreciated his race's tendency to deprecate agitation, but he explained that anything which failed to make itself known to public opinion was construed as non-existent, and therefore the race should not be embarrassed into hiding its grievances and humiliations. Agitation was necessary to expose the evil of the denial of equal rights, and thereby commence its destruction, or reform. Acquiescence increased rather than decreased the contempt of the oppressor towards his victim, and intensified the myths created by prejudice of predestined inferiority. The problem was basically one of the analysis of the situation - Trotter saw the root cause of his race's predicament as white racism, which gradual advance along moral or material lines was not going to soften. He also ruled out physical force as a viable alternative, for the blacks were in too small a minority to be able to achieve anything by violence.<sup>18</sup>

---

17. W.E.B. DuBois to R.R. Moton, Nov. 21, 1910. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

18. Bay State Banner, Oct. 8, 1906; Boston Traveller, Oct. 25, 1901; Guardian, May 17, 1902, p. 1 (Text of speech at anti-disfranchisement meeting, Faneuil Hall); Guardian, Apr. 25, 1903. W.M. Trotter, 'Agitation as a Means to Protect Equal Public Rights', A.M.E. Review, Vol. 31 (1914-15), pp. 240-41.



One method of direct action was the boycott movement.

Protests occurred in all the states of the Confederacy against segregated Jim-Crow cars, led by an élite of prominent business and professional men, with a sprinkling of federal employees or the rare politician. These leaders were considered respectable rather than radical or fire-brands, and many who were supporters of Washington surprisingly described their action as "a conservative protest". This kind of action was ignored by the Niagara Movement, but it was construed as the least provocative kind of protest, for it avoided inter-racial confrontation. It declined in popularity because of lack of results, but it did lead to the development of black transportation companies, mirroring a general shift from agitation and politics to economic advancement, self-help and racial solidarity, as a means of coping with the situation.<sup>19</sup> It seemed at least temporarily that the agitators were destined to tread a lonely path.

The terms "radical" and "conservative" require a precise definition in the context of the debate on black strategy, for both were emotive epithets used with little regard to their generally accepted meanings. In 1908, Kelly Miller attempted to codify the debate in his essay entitled Radicals and Conservatives, claiming that no thoughtful Negro could be satisfied with his race's status. Self-respect compelled him to unremitting protest, the manner of which could be mild or pronounced, according to the dictates of prudence. Both groups had the same ends in view, but differed as to the most effective means of attaining them.<sup>20</sup> It was merely a question of ratio and proportion not of fundamental controversy.<sup>21</sup>

---

19. A.Meier and E.Rudwick, 'The Boycott Movement Against Jim-Crow Street Cars in the South, 1900-06', Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol.LV (1968), pp.756-65.

20. Kelly Miller, Race Adjustment (New York 1968), p.11.

21. Ibid., p.19.



Those who were described as "radical" were only so on the race question; their attitudes to other social questions, while affected by their racial perspective, were those of any typical Americans. On many issues they were in fact so typical that the Talented Tenth as well as the Tuskegee people were often described as conservative. Miller himself consciously "sat on the fence", trying to mediate between the opposing factions, and his position was that of many of the Talented Tenth, who were confused, if not indecisive, about the most efficacious policy in dealing with the race question. Few were as consistent in their espousal of any doctrine as were the most prominent leaders. The Boston Evening Transcript decided that the majority of blacks ranged between the wide-apart views, believing neither in revolution nor surrender, but too often they let a mere difference in point of view become an irrepressible conflict.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, DuBois felt that the differences were all too real, and he analysed the points of divergence as the scope of education, the necessity of the right of suffrage, the importance of civil rights, the conciliation of the South and the future of the race in America.<sup>23</sup> These issues were the core of what is known as "The Washington-DuBois Controversy" and they came to symbolize the basic elements in the radical-conservative divide.

It must be stressed that the use of "radical" applied to racial protest only, and does not describe the wider social or political philosophies of those concerned. "Radical" is a relative term, in the racial context it usually referred to any opponent of Washington or his ideology. The socialist editors of the Messenger tried to

---

22. Boston Evening Transcript, Sept.18,1903,p.8; Sept.19,1903,p.22.

23. W.E.B.DuBois, 'The Parting of the Ways', Chicago Broadax Apr.23,1903.

clarify the issue:

"One usually thinks of the Negro radical not as one who insists upon economic or political radicalism, but as the Negro who opposes lynching, demands the vote, condemns the Jim-Crow car, segregation, discrimination and general insult, while an extreme or ultra-Negro radical means a Negro who insists on social equality...One who has neither political nor industrial radicalism can hardly be called a radical in the strictest sense of the word."<sup>24</sup>.

Not only were the Talented Tenth generally not radicals in the full sense of the term, neither did they view their plight from the perspective of class-consciousness. Caught between "the devil of Cracker prejudice and the deep sea of respectable white condescension", the black intellectuals allegedly displayed this lack of class feeling in their rejection of those novels which portrayed the black as proletarian, even when it was done truthfully and artistically, as these did not square with their "false, soft-headed and wine-watered notions".<sup>25</sup> This was later intensified during the Harlem Renaissance, but its roots lay in the social, political and literary attitudes of the pre-War Talented Tenth.

The most obvious polarization of strategy and outlook was the antagonism between Washington and the Talented Tenth, or between the accommodators and the agitators. This is not quite the simple dichotomy it would appear, for just as not all of the Talented Tenth were racial radicals or agitators, neither can all of Washington's supporters be classified as anti-intellectual, or rightfully excluded from the Talented Tenth. The spectrum was too small to allow great ideological deviation, hence the two sides were never too far apart, nor was the dividing line ever precise. The room in which the blacks could manoeuvre psychologically and intellectually was as circumscribed

24. 'The Negro Radicals', The Messenger, Vol.II, (Oct.1919), pp.17-18.

25. C.McKay to J.W.Johnson, Apr.30,1928, J.W.J. Coll. Beinecke, Yale.

as it was physically.

The complexities of the enigmatic career and character of Booker T. Washington are beyond the scope of this work,<sup>26</sup> but he was too central to the black history of the period 1895-1915 to be neglected. Of relevance are the reaction of the Talented Tenth to the Tuskegee Machine, his role both as intra- and inter-racial leader, opposition to him and his reaction to it, his relations with the Talented Tenth, and the power of his example.

Washington's prestige derived primarily from his position as founder and principal of the Tuskegee Institute. In Macon County, Alabama, to build a school for blacks, of any kind, was a considerable achievement, especially at a time of mounting white hostility. Washington arrived at Tuskegee in 1881, a product of the Hampton Institute, Va., and a firm disciple of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who believed that "Real life makes real men", that "education was only a means to an end", and that the educated man usually over-estimated himself because his intellect had grown faster than his experience of life.<sup>27</sup> Hampton's first object was to make the black student appreciate the difference between forced labour and free labour,<sup>28</sup> and it was a punishment there to deprive a student of work. Hampton claimed that through its outposts and graduates, it had established the method of industrial

---

26. L.R.Harlan, Booker T.Washington: The Making of a Black Leader (Vol.I, New York,1972).

A.Meier, Negro Thought in America: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T.Washington (Ann Arbor,1957).

H.Hawkins, Booker T.Washington and his Critics (Boston,1962).

B.Mathews, Booker T.Washington (London,1949).

E.L.Thornborough, Booker T.Washington (Englewood Cliffs, 1969).

27. S.C.Armstrong, Education for Life (1914) p.7. J.W.J. Coll. Yale.

28. B.T.Washington, 'The Salvation of the Negro', World's Work, Vol.2 (July,1901), p.962.

training as the educational solution to the race problem.<sup>29.</sup>

Washington set out to apply these principles to the Alabama situation, as far as was possible. Seeing his work as "to unite the forces of the head and hand, giving to each its rightful proportion in the great educational scheme of the race", Washington aimed to supply well-equipped teachers able and eager to teach gardening and carpentry, as well as grammar and arithmetic, who would organize the social life of their communities upon wholesome principles, "tactfully restraining grossness and unobtrusively proffering new and nobler sources of enjoyment".<sup>30.</sup> Like the Talented Tenth, he felt that the majority of the race needed direction, and he applied to his own ends the idea of thought in action, the combination of "brain and hand, heart and feet",<sup>31.</sup> As the scholar could not become a detached intellectual, neither could a school principal's world be restricted to the campus. Those who were trained had a duty to aid those who were not, and this concept of duty was instilled by both schools of thought in the leadership debate.

Washington related the work of his school to the community through the activities of the Phelps Hall Bible School, the Experiment Station, and the Annual Farmers' Conferences. Appalled by the illiteracy and life-style of the average black preacher, Washington endeavoured to elevate these men that they might set a better example to their flock. Ministers were welcome to join the theological students at Phelps Hall, no entry qualifications were required of the former, and they were taught the elements of literacy and theology.<sup>32.</sup> The ministers usually had churches within five to twenty-five miles of the Institute, and most came a distance of ten to twelve miles for their lessons.<sup>33.</sup> Appreciating

29. S.D.Frissell, Hampton's Message (1914) pp.8 and 18. J.W.J. Coll., Yale.

30. Colored American, Apr. 9, 1898, p.4; B.T.Washington, Tuskegee and Its People (New York, 1971), p.61.

31. J.W.E.Bowen, 'Doing Things at Tuskegee Institute', Voice of the Negro, Vol.2 (April, 1905), p.249.

32. Interview with Rev.Woodford Smith, May 24, 1973.

33. B.T.Washington to O.E.Phelps Stokes, Jan.21, 1904. Phelps Stokes Mss.Yale.

that the church was the greatest influence in the life of the rural Negro, and having thus attempted to win over the pastors, the Institute then took the Jesup Agricultural Wagon round to the church yards on Sundays, or to other sites where large crowds could be expected. The aim was to reach those who did not come to the farmers' conferences, due to the imaginary discomfort of being obliged to mingle with "the educated",<sup>34.</sup> or for some other reason. Campbell's Moveable School was the extension of George Washington Carver's Experiment Station, and worked on the principle that demonstration was the purest form of teaching. It was vital to teach efficient methods of growing crops, manuring the soil and other improvements, and to teach farmers' wives the nutritional value of vegetables and how to cook them. Carver did issue bulletins on his experiments, but these were of no use to farmers who could not read. "So he made a 'bulletin' 20 acres across - the school farm".<sup>35.</sup> Tuskegee was not only practising what she herself preached, but also what the Talented Tenth taught - that the educated few should help the less fortunate majority.

The Farmers' Conferences were mainly geared to the small farmers of the locality, and every year they gave Washington a direct and personal endorsement of his philosophy. Resolutions stressed the need for moral and material improvement, of buying land, raising more food supplies, building bigger homes, (i.e. with more than one room) and better school-houses, extending the term to at least six months, giving more attention to the character of teachers and ministers, keeping out of debt, avoiding lawsuits, respecting women and holding conferences. More was

---

34. T.M.Campbell, The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer (Tuskegee, 1936), pp.90-91.

35. R.Holt, George Washington Carver (Garden City, N.Y., 1943), p.154.  
L.Elliott, George Washington Carver: The Man Who Overcame (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), p.113.



to be accomplished by work than by complaint, for business opportunities were purportedly opening for Negroes in the South, therefore the remedy was seen to be in working where they were, rather than in migration.<sup>36</sup> The Conferences sought "to confine ourselves to things that lie within our power to remedy", and were convinced "that we shall secure our rightful place as citizens in proportion as we possess Christian character, education and property".<sup>37</sup> It is only fair to Washington to say that he was materialistic, but not mercenary; he saw possessions as the means to "high moral and religious living".<sup>38</sup> In time these conferences became a two-day workshop experience, with crop rotation, soil conservation and co-operative marketing among the themes which engaged the farmers and their families for two full days, who as guests of the Institute, received free accommodation and food, while they imbued its doctrines,<sup>39</sup> Tuskegee's alumni eulogized their alma mater "as not only an institution of learning, but an idea - it was more than an inter-cultural clinic, it was an intersectional, inter-racial and international forum" from which its field representatives went out, indoctrinated with the belief that they were going to sell an idea, which in the last analysis was a measure of social security, in the same fashion as an insurance agent sold his policies.<sup>40</sup>

It is necessary to distinguish between the Hampton and Tuskegee philosophies at this point, for Tuskegee had gone beyond the type of

---

36. Daily Picayune, Feb.22,1895, p.14.

37. New York Times, Feb.27,1895, p.10.

38. J.Q.Johnson, Report of the Fifth Tuskegee Negro Conference, in H.Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol.I (New York,1951), p.771.

39. New York Age, Feb.23,1905, p.1.

40. J.O.Thomas, My Story in Black and White (New York,1967), p.44-5; 70. African Times and Orient Review, July,1912, p.10.

accommodation practised by its mother school. Tuskegee is as accessible from Atlanta as Hampton is from Washington, D.C., both urban centres of the Talented Tenth, yet Tuskegee neither encouraged nor attracted the college educated in the way that the Hampton Conferences did. In 1897, the Hampton Conferences combined sociological investigation and direct instruction in the practical matters of living and working, in subjects ranging from scientific farming, emigration and crime, to morals, sanitary measures and dress. Both Kelly Miller and W.E.B. DuBois participated, Miller reading his Review of Hoffman's "Race Traits and Tendencies of the Negro" which was published in that year as the first Occasional Paper of the American Negro Academy, which could hardly be considered an accommodationist organization. In 1898, Daniel Hale Williams joined Washington among the participants, in a conference held as "representative of the best elements of the race". The Hampton Conference was in fact composed of Afro-Americans prominent in educational, ministerial and newspaper work, in sharp contrast to the composition of the Tuskegee conferences, which aimed to gather the farmers and artisans, and focus their opinions. From this auspicious beginning as an arbiter between all factions of racial opinion, Hampton moved temporarily to a more conservative position, stressing self-help and tabooing politics, refusing to make complaint against ill-treatment or "seditious utterances", and refraining from discussing suffrage. One issue that was raised in 1901, proved to be far-sighted: by that date 250,000 blacks were addicted to narcotics, especially cocaine, but the Conference declined to draw any conclusions as to the connection between social conditions and the causes of drug addiction. By 1909, Hampton still preferred stressing concrete results to theorizing, but was becoming openly more defensive about the Negro, for example claiming that he was not more criminal but merely more convicted than his white

brother. It was also moving towards a co-ordination of the efforts of race workers and their white friends, in general terms by providing a forum, and in particular by launching co-operative movements, namely the campaign against tuberculosis, and another for concerted action for "purer homes, better schools, more useful churches and more productive farms".<sup>41</sup> Hampton did espouse a basically conservative line, but the personnel and proceedings of the conferences suggest a liason with the Talented Tenth, especially before 1901. At Tuskegee, although the conferences had little intellectual significance, the staff did however comprise many Fisk graduates, while G.W. Carver, M.N. Work and to a lesser extent T.M. Campbell, must be enumerated among the ranks of the Talented Tenth. Carver completely accepted the Washingtonian ideology, while Work, who was once a state secretary in the Niagara Movement, came to espouse the Tuskegee way. The divisions either of men or ideas were never clear cut, nor were the two spheres mutually exclusive.

The Talented Tenth objected to the ever-increasing power and size of Washington's "Tuskegee Machine", as much as to the content of his philosophy. Professor L. Harlan has analysed this growth, clarifying the infrastructure laid in the late 1890's by Washington's excursions into politics and secret activities, his manoeuvrings to control the Afro-American Council, the founding of the National Negro Business League, and press releases to the Associated Press. After 1901 came his control of the black press by subsidy and purchase, espionage on a broad scale, tighter control of black political patronage and yet

---

41. Outlook, Aug. 7, 1897; Lexington Leader, Kty, June 24, 1898; New York Times, July 25, 1898; New York Sun, July 31, 1898; New York Times, July 18 and 20, 1901; Outlook, July 31, 1909; Boston Evening Transcript, July 15 and 17, 1901; New York Evening Post, July 16, 1910; Outlook, July 30, 1910. Clippings, H.I.

more secret activities.<sup>42</sup> Despite Washington's advice to others, and his protestations that he himself eschewed politics, his political influence was recognized by his friends and enemies alike. The Tuskegee Machine is crucial to an understanding of the activities of Booker T. Washington, and its structure and functioning have been detailed elsewhere. It is more relevant here to discuss the conceptions and misconceptions which the Talented Tenth held of it, and how these provoked their opposition.

The Atlanta Address, although generally applauded, was described by the Cleveland Gazette as the work of a "trimmer and a temporizer, one of that sort of educational 'money-getters' who come north every year..." and was criticized by none other than John Hope (see supra).<sup>43</sup> These murmurings died down until 1901, when in Washington's adopted state of Alabama, 2 prominent black ministers published a long article criticizing the tone, temper and sentiments of the appeal of Booker T. Washington, W.H. Council and other leading blacks to the Constitutional Convention on behalf of their race.<sup>44</sup> The Afro-American Council had been sensitive to the coming rift since its second convention in 1899, and was feeling the strain of trying to maintain a balance. The Guardian attacked Washington from its birth, calling for his repudiation as a leader<sup>45</sup> and heaping abuse on him, belittling him or predicting his downfall, in such editorials as "...southern whites, as soon as they find him in this business (politics) will have no more use for him" and "Washington has no policy other than for himself..."<sup>46</sup> Prior

---

42. Harlan, op.cit., pp.254-271.

43. Cleveland Gazette, Dec.7,1895, p.2.

44. New York Times, June 4,1901, p.5.

45. Guardian, July 26,1902, p.4.

46. Guardian, Nov.1 and 15,1902, p.4.

to the Boston Riot, Washington ascribed the position of Trotter and Forbes to a misunderstanding of Southern conditions, but charity was quickly dissipated. He encouraged William Pickens to bring a law suit for libel,<sup>47</sup> and supported the efforts of Charles Alexander to smash the Guardian. The same year, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and others", although saying nothing new, brought DuBois out of the seclusion of the social scientist into the radical camp, by his public indictment of the Tuskegeean as a political boss. These were soon followed by the publication of the Voice of the Negro, and the birth of the Niagara Movement.

Washington had made direct and indirect approaches to DuBois, offering him a reference for the superintendancy of Negro schools in D.C. in 1900, the editorship of a Hampton-based journal in 1901, and appointments, with an increased salary, at Tuskegee in 1902.<sup>48</sup> In 1895, Washington had had no reason to fear DuBois, who had written to the New York Age endorsing the Atlanta Address, and suggesting that it might be the basis of a real settlement in the South, if the South opened the doors of economic opportunity to blacks, and they cooperated with whites in political sympathy. In retrospect, DuBois saw this as frustrated by the Jim-Crow legislation enacted 1895-1909.<sup>49</sup> Explaining his drift from detachment to involvement as an emotional reaction to conditions, DuBois could not reconcile the reality of Washington's career, which reached its zenith 1899-1905, with the statements that he made. DuBois also claimed that he did not precipitate the controversy, but that it was the inevitable result of Washington's

---

47. Guardian, July 11, 1903, p.6.

48. H. Aptheker, Toward Negro Freedom (New York, 1956), pp.96-99.  
H. Aptheker, The Papers of W.E.B. DuBois: Vol. I, Correspondence (Amherst, Mass., 1973), p.44.

49. W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York, 1940), p.55.



search for uniformity and submission to the dominant public opinion. He was aggrieved further by the support which the Tuskegee Machine obtained from the North, mainly from benefactors who were capitalists first and philanthropists second.<sup>50</sup> The "Washington-DuBois" controversy was the intensification and microcosm of the wider divide between the radicals and conservatives within the race; it existed prior to the advent of DuBois, who did however polarize and personalize it.

The contacts between the two men before the outbreak of the "Controversy" led to Washington proposing a private conference, and sending out letters to about fifteen representative blacks, inviting them to attempt to come to some sort of agreement.<sup>51</sup> The Conference took place in January, 1904, in Carnegie Hall, New York, and presumably DuBois made public his ten principles, namely full political rights, higher education for selected Negro youth, industrial education for the masses, common school training for every black child, the stoppage of the campaign of self-depreciation, careful study of the real conditions of the Negro, a national Negro periodical, thorough and efficient federation of Negro societies and activities, raising of a defence fund and a judicious fight in the courts for civil rights.<sup>52</sup> The Conference established a sub-committee of DuBois, Washington and Hugh M. Browne, of Cheyney, Pa., to select the steering committee of 12. Browne was a "Washington man" and the vote went continuously two to one against DuBois, hence he resigned.

A very select élite, the personnel of the Committee of 12 were

50. Ibid., pp.69, 74-77.

51. H.Aptheker, 'The Washington-DuBois Controversy', Science and Society, Vol.13 (1949), p.346.

52. W.E.B.DuBois to Kelly Miller, Feb.25,1903, Broderick's Notes. H.Aptheker, The Papers of W.E.B.DuBois.Vol.I., p.53.

B.T.Washington, H.M.Browne, C.E.Bentley, E.C.Morris, C.W.Anderson, A.H.Grimké, G.H.Clinton, K.Miller, J.W.E. Bowen, T.T.Fortune, H.T.Kealing and C.W.Chesnutt.<sup>53</sup> Although DuBois dropped out, this did give him an insight into Washington's less conciliatory activities, for Washington shared his plans to produce and distribute the information necessary to secure coloured representation on juries, and to compile a circular of the various requirements for voting in the southern states.<sup>54</sup> The Committee planned to direct the race towards constructive effort, to bring this to the nation's attention, and to emphasize the points of agreement rather than dispute within the race. Much power devolved upon the executive to take initiatives; in fact the members were kept informed of executive decisions rather than allowed to participate in them.<sup>55</sup> They planned to use the press, black and white, North and South, the pulpit, platform and printed circulars, private correspondence or any other appropriate means; the money was supplied, at least in part, by Andrew Carnegie, but the executive repeatedly emphasized that they were not yet ready to make their purpose and work public.<sup>56</sup> The Committee circulated printed matter including Carnegie's Edinburgh Address, A.H. Grimké's 'Why Disfranchisement is Bad', W.H. Smith's 'The Negro's Right to Jury Representation', C. Schurz's 'Can the South Solve the Negro Problem?' and pamphlets illustrating self-help and success.<sup>57</sup> The Committee lacked unison or liason in any meaningful sense, for Charles Chesnutt felt obliged to inquire in 1909 who the other members in fact were.<sup>58</sup>

---

53. H.M.Browne to C.W.Chesnutt, May 20, 1905. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

54. B.T.Washington to W.E.B.DuBois, Jan.27, 1904. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

55. C.E.Bentley to A.H.Grimké, Mar.20, 1905. A.H.G. Mss. H.U.

56. Circular, Committee of Twelve, July 28, 1904. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

57. H.M.Browne to C.W.Chesnutt, Mar.2, 1909. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

58. H.M.Browne to C.W.Chesnutt, Mar.2, 1909. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

The extent to which the two factions were in accord was shown by the proximity of the proposals of DuBois and the final resolutions adopted in 1904 by the Conference. These were that the bulk of the Negro race should be encouraged to remain and work in the South; that the right to vote was of paramount importance, and that voters in the North and West should organize to return representatives to Congress and the State Legislatures friendly to the Negro; that they opposed all restrictions on civil rights in travel and public accommodations, and urged the institution of suits against common carriers in cases of discrimination; that the education of the Negro race should consist of higher, elementary and industrial education; a vigorous denunciation of lynching and mob violence, while condemning rape and other crime; co-operation with the white South without the compromise of manhood; that the three constituents of the race problem, the Northern white, the Southern white and the Negro should confer; dissemination of knowledge and data on the conditions of the race. The Committee of 12, when appointed, was to unify and bring into co-operation all organizations, to be a central bureau of co-operation between all sections of the country and to be a bureau of information on all subjects relating to the race. No defence fund was raised nor periodical founded, but a Conference, called and controlled by Washington, had endorsed eight out of DuBois's ten points, and had denounced lynching, in addition to making constructive suggestions. Although the divisions did not seem too fundamental, they were apparently irreconcilable.<sup>59</sup>

---

59. Summary of Proceedings, Conference of Prominent Colored Men, Jan. 6, 7, 8, 1904. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.  
 The signatories of these resolutions were Washington, DuBois, A. Grant, C.W. Anderson, A.H. Grimké, R.R. Moton, H.T. Kealing, T.T. Fortune, S.L. Williams, F.L. McGhee, E.H. Morris, S.E. Courtney, J.C. Napier, G.L. Knox, S.B. Scott, C.G. Morgan, E.C. Morris, A. Walters, R.L. Smith, P.B.S. Pinchback, J.S. Trotter, W.H. Steward, J.H. Haynes, J.W. Lyons, K. Miller, C.T. Walker, W. McKinley, E.J. Scott, H.M. Browne.

The Tuskegeens dismissed the early opposition to Washington as:

"A tempest in a teapot...(that had)...no ill effect on the masses",

or as "the little coterie of fanatics, dreamers and illusionists".<sup>60.</sup>

Washington himself felt that it was rooted in jealousy, envy or political ambition, but he felt that the rank-and-file continued to "see matters clearly and correctly" and loyally stand by him.<sup>61.</sup> But even Alexander's Magazine plucked up enough courage to accuse him of mistakes in yielding to the destructive sentiments against the Negro in the Southern states, and in cringing and servility.<sup>62.</sup> Once his aura of infallibility on racial dogma had been cracked, more were prepared to speak out against at least some aspects of Tuskegee philosophy, even if they could not go as far as the more extreme radicals.

Some members of the Talented Tenth maintained a cordial personal relationship with Washington, while disagreeing firmly with his position. Timothy Thomas Fortune had tried to reconcile his private beliefs with his friendship for Washington, both through the columns of the New York Age and in the Afro-American Council, but he found that he was coming under increasing pressure from both sides, until the tension was too much for him. Charles Waddell Chesnutt, the Cleveland lawyer and novelist, achieved a more successful balance. He felt Washington swam with the tide rather than directed events, and for that reason the radicals had overreacted;<sup>63.</sup> his correspondence with

---

60. Colored American, Feb. 14, 1903, p. 8; R.W. Thompson to B.T. Washington, Mar. 6, 1907, B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

61. B.T. Washington to H.B. Frissell, Nov. 3, 1903. B.T.W. Mss. H.I.

62. Alexander's Magazine, Vol. 1 (Sept. 1905).

63. C.W. Chesnutt to W.M. Trotter, Dec. 28, 1901. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.



Washington is illustrative of several facets of the relationship between Booker T. Washington and the Talented Tenth. Washington was prepared to indulge Chesnutt's literary works, but not to publicly endorse his politics, and was willing to explain to him, carefully and patiently, his true feelings. Washington claimed that the black had lost his civil rights before the death of Frederick Douglass, and that although the constitutional guarantees must be demanded, the Negro would have to rely on the influence he could bring to bear in his immediate community for his ultimate defence. Laws could not give an individual any power which he does not intrinsically possess, and so this was where public sentiment and the recognition of the black man's character and wealth would be crucial. Washington also felt that pronouncements on lynching and the franchise should be timely rather than constant. Moreover, he felt that he was much wronged; having risked the wrath of the white Southern press both in condemning lynching and in dining at the White House (1901), he did not understand what more the radicals wished him to do. Chesnutt would reply, reminding Washington of the importance of education and the franchise, the outrages committed against the black man, and sometimes introducing new arguments,<sup>64</sup> but Washington was no philosopher. He repeated the need for the Negro to gain material, mental, moral and political strength, to work himself up from weakness to strength. Washington believed that he was in fact agitating, and he recognized that some methods were applicable to the North and others to the South. Chesnutt

---

64. B.T. Washington to C.W. Chesnutt, May 16, 1903. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.  
 B.T. Washington to C.W. Chesnutt, July 7, 1903. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.  
 C.W. Chesnutt to B.T. Washington, Aug. 11, 1903. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.



remained unconvinced of the efficacy of Washington's methods, but the two continued to correspond cordially. By 1907, Washington was despairing that his race would ever believe his earnest desire for the ballot; it was a matter of differing priorities, and of method, not of permanent principle.<sup>65</sup> The misinterpretations of Washington, of which he was aware and many of which he sought to rectify in certain black minds, arose out of his delicate, dual path as inter-racial spokesman and intra-racial leader.

His conception of his role as intra-racial leader consisted in the power of example, his secret activities, and the preservation of his monopoly by the diminution of the impact of the Talented Tenth. He would use friendship with some, like Fortune and Chesnutt, or he would place others in embarrassing debts so that they were no longer in a position to be actively hostile. John Hope, a Southerner and a College President, had ventured to Harper's Ferry and to the National Negro Conference in New York in 1909, but he was effectively silenced by a gift from Carnegie, obtained through the intercession of Washington. He even suggested to DuBois that the split had then gone far enough, and that men such as himself should not be forced to take sides.<sup>66</sup> Washington worked consistently to undermine the Niagara Movement, and to keep control of the Afro-American Council, but the supreme challenge to his leadership hegemony was the birth of the N.A.A.C.P.

Washington was prepared to tolerate almost anything the radicals said, so long as they did not attack him personally; he might even have agreed with John E. White that DuBois was his good fortune, for he served to hold the Southern whites in sympathy with the Tuskegee line.<sup>67</sup>

---

65. B.T. Washington to C.W. Chesnutt, Dec. 6, 1907. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

66. John Hope to W.E.B. DuBois Jan. 17, 1910 in R. Torrence, op.cit., pp. 160-62.

67. J.E. White to R.S. Baker Apr. 23, 1908. R.S.B. Mss. L.C.

But he honestly believed that his was the only viable solution for the South, where 90% of his people were concentrated, and he also possibly feared that his personal position might be jeopardized. Washington liked both power itself and the illusion of power, and feared lest his supremacy be undermined. Hence he ascribed his own megalomaniac tendencies to his opponents, denying their idealism and discrediting their integrity. Washington neither attended the Conference of 1909, nor joined the new movement, which absorbed the remnants of the Niagara Movement, the Afro-American Council, and some members of the Constitutional League. The most effective protest and agitational organization since slavery days, it was also the most efficient combination of the forces opposed to Booker T. Washington. Despite the opposition of the latter and the feverish activity of his cohort, Charles Anderson,<sup>68</sup> the N.A.A.C.P. went from strength to strength, but it was continually aware of the persistent influence of the Tuskegee Idea. The death of Washington in 1915 brought Robert Russa Moton to the leadership of the Hampton-Tuskegee faction, a conciliatory moderate claiming friendship with both sides, while the Amenia Conference at the home of Joel E. Spingarn, was an attempt to mediate between all points of view. The master-stroke played by the Association was the appointment of James Weldon Johnson as field secretary - one of the ablest men from the Washington orbit, a graduate of Atlanta, former consul to Venezuela and Nicaragua, and a columnist with the New York Age.<sup>69</sup> The "radicals" had emerged triumphant, a reflection of the changing circumstances and shifting public sentiment. Washington's opposition, both overt and secret, had been unable to stamp out his antagonists.

There was a very positive aspect to Washington's leadership.

---

68. A. Meier, 'Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the N.A.A.C.P.' Crisis (Feb. 1954), pp. 117-123.

69. J. W. Johnson, Along This Way (New York, 1943).

Besides the work at the Institute, the Conferences and the Extension services, he organized the N.N.B.L. and patronized many self-help associations, while he himself was a shining example to the children of the race. His books and autobiographies stressed the "self-made man" image, implying that if he had risen from such lowly beginnings with determination and effort, so could others. From among the Talented Tenth, William Pickens, President of Talladega College, revealed the persuasive influence of Washington, although his later attitudes and activities pushed him towards DuBois and the N.A.A.C.P., principally because Washington forced him and other independent minded blacks to choose between the two groups.<sup>70</sup> Lawrence Jones, principal of the school at Piney Woods, was typical of the numbers of Hampton, Tuskegee and other graduates who went out to teach their people the necessities of survival, by founding schools that gave rudimentary and industrial education.<sup>71</sup> W.J. Edwards consciously modelled his efforts at Snow Hill, Alabama, on Washington, founding a school of himself and three students in a one-room log cabin with no appropriations from state, church or any society. He was the kind of accommodator who incurred the wrath of the radicals, for he culminated his aims of teaching home and farm economics, preaching the payment of debt and moral and useful living, with the statement "we aim to train a high class of domestic servants".<sup>72</sup> Such obsequiousness went far beyond the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, which had been designed as a

---

70. W. Pickens, Bursting Bonds (Boston, 1929, enlarged edition of The Heir of Slaves)

R. Barton, op.cit., p. 26.

S. B. Avery, Up From Washington (Ph.D., Univ. of Oregon, 1970), p. 23.

71. L. C. Jones, Piney Woods and Its Story (New York, 1922),

B. Day, The Little Professor of Piney Woods (New York, 1955), p. 18.

72. W. J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston, 1918), pp. 35, 112.

subtle compromise between the pragmatic and the desirable.

Because men such as Edwards acknowledged Washington as their mentor, he was tarred with the brush of their surrender. Accommodationism had neither started with Tuskegee, nor did it fade after 1915. In the 1880's William Hooper Council, President of the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College at Huntsville, had gone beyond the limits of accommodation into opportunism. Selling out to the white conservatives, he campaigned for the Democrats and was once rescued from a scandal by white political favour. His statements "that man grows by experience from within and not by accretion; that congressional enactments cannot make us a race"<sup>73</sup> and his educational ideas did parallel those of Washington, but his methods and mannerisms lacked self-respect.

H.C. Smith summed up the reaction of the Talented Tenth to such sycophants:-

"His great work in the cause of education is to be commended and encouraged. But the professor seems not to base his efforts upon the principles of equal and untrammelled manhood. He therefore impairs the work which he advocates and hopes to accomplish."

But, having criticized him for condoning the wrongs inflicted upon his people, after a long plea for manhood rights, the Gazette, in a remarkable volte face, then apologized for misrepresenting him, and declared him a friend "consecrated to the cause of right and justice."<sup>74</sup> The Freeman merely felt that Council had adapted himself to local conditions, and praised him as the founder of an Institution that was a source of racial pride and inspiration.<sup>75</sup> It is surprising to find such Northern approval of a Southern accommodator, and may reinforce the interpretation that the Talented Tenth reacted more against the Tuskegee Machine than the Tuskegee Idea.

---

73. Freeman, Mar.27,1897, p.4.

74. Cleveland Gazette, Mar.25,1905, p.2; Apr.29,1905, p.2.

75. Freeman, June 23,1906, p.4; Oct.12,1907, p.4.

Some churchmen backed up the teachings of Washington by preaching that:-

"the race question will adjust itself naturally under proper conditions. Let respectability of intelligence and Christian character clothe a man, despite his race and despite his color, no oppositions and prejudices will prevent his progress to wealth, happiness and prosperity."<sup>76</sup>.

After Washington's death, accommodation did alter, but slowly. In the early years Moton continued to minimize the facts of lynching compiled by M.N.Work, despite the advice of Villard to "paint the situation as black as possible."<sup>77</sup> The policies of optimism continued. Even the most esteemed of the Talented Tenth were sometimes prepared to use the tactics they apparently abhorred, and "stoop to conquer" as a temporary expedient to gain an immediate objective, e.g., coloured officers in War service. This was rationalized as acceptable if it was

"...not cringing, but with our eyes upon a star...We are going to need leaders for the colored regiments. It does not matter how they are made, so that we may have them in the hour of need".<sup>78</sup>.

Such statements from Charles Young, the first coloured graduate of West Point, to achieve the rank of colonel in the United States Army illustrate, that to achieve something concrete, often employment in some sense, the Talented Tenth frequently had to follow the example of the accommodators in tempering principle with pragmatism, whether they liked it or not.

In inter-racial terms, Washington's role had three aspects - placating the white Southerners, securing the help of Northern philanthropists, and assuring the white liberals of his sincerity. His success in the former was acknowledged by Thomas Dixon

"...in no other way has he shown his talent as an organizer and leader of his people with such consummate skill as in the dexterity with which he has for twenty years dodged this issue

76. New York Times, Aug.7,1902, p.2.

77. O.G.Villard to R.R.Moton, Jan.12,1917. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

78. C.Young to H.Smith, Mar.23,1913. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.



(amalgamation), holding steadily the goodwill of the Southern white man and the Northern philanthropist. He is the greatest diplomat the race has ever produced."<sup>79</sup>.

Carefully tailoring his speeches to suit the tastes of his audiences, he successfully projected the image of unanimous black support for his policies to whites. He had no problem of access to white journals or periodicals; in fact, he had so many publishing deadlines to meet that he was obliged to employ ghost writers, like Max Bennett Thrasher and Robert E. Park. His articles and books reflected an optimistic view of black progress as hard but steady, and portrayed the goodwill of blacks, and their earnest desire to succeed according to the white man's criteria. His interpretation of capitalism and his emphasis on the material inspired the generosity of Northern philanthropists like Baldwin, Ogden and Carnegie, while liberals like Spingarn, Villard and Garrison also supported his school. Spingarn made regular donations to Tuskegee, while, even after DuBois had exposed the machinations of the Tuskegee clique, Villard and Garrison still held on to their faith in his "purity of purpose and absolute freedom from selfishness and personal ambition".<sup>80</sup> Of all the black leaders, Washington had the easiest access and the closest contact with the politicians, the philanthropists and the publishers, enabling him to secure political power, financial backing or propaganda as required. His interpretation of the racial question was the one with which whites were most familiar, and the Talented Tenth often found themselves in the uncomfortable position, requiring his mediation if they wished either appointments or money.

---

79. Evening Post, Philadelphia, Aug.19,1905. B.T.W. Scrapbook, J.W.J. Coll. Yale.

B.T.Washington to A.Carnegie, Apr.19,1907. A.Carnegie Mss. L.C.  
New York Age Sept.1,1910, p.4.

80. J.E. Spingarn to B.T.Washington, May 20,1911; Jan.9, Nov.27,1912; May 6, 1913. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.  
F.J.Garrison to O.G.Villard, Apr.9,1905; Feb.11,1906. O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

Before the Talented Tenth could challenge the white world, they had first to resolve the issues created by the ascendancy of the "Wizard of Tuskegee".

Despite Washington's advice to the race to abstain from politics, there were many who actively participated in the political processes. Although most political appointees could be classified as "Talented Tenth", DuBois did not specifically include politicians as such. Political discussion had two aspects - the theoretical and the practical wheeling and dealing of party politics. The last black to serve in Congress before the 1920's, George H. White, left the House of Representatives in 1901, and from that date "politics" meant "Appointments" rather than representation in the legislature. Washington's control over Southern appointments did not daunt the Talented Tenth, some of whom relied on him to arrange the post they sought, while others preferred not to ally with him, if at all possible. Democratic control of the Southern states reduced all Southern Republicanism, black and white alike, to a fight for the control of patronage when the incumbent in the White House was Republican. By the 1890's, the white South no longer had any reason to fear the Negro by himself, but the repression of that period was stimulated by the fear of the unity of the Negro with dissatisfied whites,<sup>81.</sup> especially after the Populist phenomenon. It could plausibly be argued that these formal disfranchisement measures recorded the fait accompli of the decimation of the Southern electorate, brought about by other processes,<sup>82.</sup> and certainly in the North, subordinate ethnic status did not depress black political interests.<sup>83.</sup>

---

81. R.J.Bunche, Negro Political Status, Bk.I, p.20. Carnegie-Myrdal Research Memorandum, Schomburg.

82. V.O.Key, Southern Politics (New York, 1949), p.533.

83. R.E.Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), p.235.

In the South, reaction to suffrage restriction varied from protest to acquiescence, and the belief that perhaps after all, the Negro was not yet ready to participate. Many followed the example of John Mitchell of the Richmond Planet. Until disfranchisement became a reality, Mitchell continued to fight against discrimination at the polls, even recommending boycotts of white businesses and products. Thereafter he became resigned to the situation and eschewed politics, his editorial mood becoming more conciliatory.<sup>84.</sup>

Few exceptions were made even for distinguished blacks in the restrictions on the exercise of their electoral rights.<sup>85.</sup> Allegations in the white press of vote-selling<sup>86</sup> were countered with suggestions to proscribe the ignorance, bribery and vote-selling but not the colour of the culprit.<sup>87.</sup> The black press loved to editorialize on the nature of politics:-

"...politics is the great bar where the race is to be tried for sins real or apparent, of commission and omission...They must be saved as they have been lost - through politics."<sup>88.</sup>

Suggestions of dealing with the crisis included proposals for an all-black party, such as the National Afro-American Party which was justified "because of the ruthless betrayal of popular government by both the two great political parties".<sup>89.</sup> Others, including Bishop Walters, contemplated a permanent "steering committee" to look after the political welfare

---

84. A.Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics (Charlottesville, 1967), pp.36-7.

85. C.Schurz, 'The Negro in Politics', Harper's Weekly, Sept.4, 1897, p.671.

86. New York Times, Apr.11, 1895, p.4.

87. 'Georgia Negroes on the Hardwick Bill, 1899', in H.Aptheker, A Documentary History....., p.784.

88. Freeman, Dec.16, 1899, p.4.

89. Form letter, T.W. Swann (Acting Secretary (Proposed) National Afro-American Party) to J.E.Bruce, June 1900. J.E.B.Mss. Schomburg.

of the race,<sup>90.</sup> while the Colored American felt that the coordination of political and constitutional activities was called for to prevent mistakes in the duplication of litigation.<sup>91.</sup> Feeling that the Negro's political status was regulated more by sentiment than by rational considerations,<sup>92.</sup> publications such as The Ballotless Victim of One-Party Government and The Philosophic Basis of Popular Suffrage by A.H. Grimké, The Negro and the Elective Franchise, a symposium distributed by the American Negro Academy, with contributions from the Grimké brothers, G.C. Cook, John Hope, J.L. Love, and Kelly Miller, and the many and varied essays by Kelly Miller were produced to rectify this.

Once disfranchisement was a fait accompli, an issue that pre-occupied many Northern black intellectuals was whether Southern representation ought to be reduced. The Age called these suggestions "selfish", explaining that they provoked the opposition of the race's enemies. Fortune favoured an appeal to the 15th Amendment, before recourse to the 14th.<sup>93.</sup> Archibald Grimké on the contrary felt that the reduction of the Southern representation in Congress and in the Electoral College would reduce the political strength of the South as a factor in the national legislature and diminish its relative importance as an element in national politics. As it declined in relative strength in Congress and the electoral college it would correspondingly decline in relative strength in the management and leadership of the Democratic party. As the Northern wing of the Democrats gained in relative strength, it was assumed that it would make more and more attempts to solicit the Negro vote in

---

90. Colored American, Nov.22,1902, p.8.

91. Colored American, Dec.12,1903, p.8.

92. K.Miller, 'The Negro As A Political Factor', Voice of the Negro, Vol.I (Jan.1904), p.20.

93. New York Age, Jan.5,1905, p.1.

the North. Specifically, such a redistribution of political power would "end the present period of goodwill and peace between the sections so disastrous to the rights of the Negro".<sup>94</sup>.

Traditionally Republican, loyal to the party of Lincoln, the blacks had begun to diversify their vote by the twentieth century. "Independent" or "thoughtful" voting was often a euphemism for conversion to the Democracy, but the division of the vote, in both federal and municipal elections, was seen as an intrinsic good.<sup>95</sup> Independent voting was seen as a matter of life and death, the guarantee that the Afro-American's fate in the North and West would not be the same as that in the South.<sup>96</sup> The measure of political maturity and the guarantee of justice and democracy, judicious suffrage by blacks would "help to put down forever demagogues, time-servers, the rule of bosses, the corrupt politician, the possessor of special privileges and the oppressor".<sup>97</sup> Men and principles were advocated as the criteria for the black man to follow, with the exercise of political independence rather than party affiliations as the only means of preserving true citizenship.<sup>98</sup> Yet the majority of Afro-Americans remained within the confines of the two-party system, deciding at each election which course of action would most benefit the race.

Protestations on the place of principle in politics hardly veiled the fact that blacks voted on the same grounds as all electors in a democracy, that is they voted for what they conceived to be their best

---

94. A.H.Grimké, The Meaning and Need of the Movement to Reduce Southern Representation, A.N.A. Occasional Papers No.11, pp.7-11.

95. New York Age, Apr.13,1905, p.2.

96. New York Age, Sept.28,1905, p.4.

97. Pittsburgh Courier, June 28,1918, p.1.

98. Pittsburgh Courier, July 5,1912, p.



interests. Chesnutt explained his Republicanism by the formulae that his father was one, because the Republican party was the party of sound currency, seeking to protect home industries from ruinous foreign competition, a policy of protection which rendered possible "a high degree of intelligence and a wide diversification of our industries;" because the Republicans had always advocated a liberal system of public internal improvements; because of his patriotism, for the Democratic party was neither fit in their principles or personnel to govern the country; and finally, because of the Republicans' grand achievements, glorious traditions and future expectations.<sup>99</sup> Most blacks voted Republican out of habit, gratitude or trust, or because they saw the Republicans as the lesser of two evils.

Although the Talented Tenth were aware of the general election issues, to most the racial issue was the overriding consideration. Typical of black Republican editorials were those of Harry C. Smith, himself a politician. A passing mention of the tariff, an apology for and dismissal of the Lily-whites in the South, then the editorial would launch into the rhetoric of principles, rights, manhood, liberty, humanity, pride, integrity, etc.<sup>100</sup> Gossip about putting a black in the Cabinet was rife, and speculation centred on Booker T. Washington as the Republican choice, which it was thought would emphasize and redeclare their "apparently waning faith in the equality of men".<sup>101</sup> The blacks expected political appointments, claiming some of the spoils of their efforts, and also because patronage furnished some of the best jobs available to blacks at that time. McKinley was popular with the

---

99. C.W.Chesnutt, Why I am A Republican, Ms. no date, C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

100. Cleveland Gazette, Apr. 11, 1896, p.2.

101. J.S.Clarkson to J.E.Bruce, Nov. 25, 1896, p.2. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

black electorate in 1896 on account of his record as Governor of Ohio,<sup>102</sup> but influential white papers like the New York Times, condemned the Republican massing of the black vote, claiming that this more than anything else compelled the formation of the "Solid South" in self-defence.<sup>103</sup> McKinley disappointed the black Republicans, who described him as "a man of jelly who needs a rod of steel for a backbone".<sup>104</sup> However hope revived with the accession of Theodore Roosevelt and the celebrated White House dinner party. But by 1904, lack of any Republican initiatives on behalf of the blacks, and the obvious ascendancy of the Lily-whites within the party, forced many to conclude that:-

"A black face no longer indicates a Republican vote, and while a large number are tenacious in their loyalty to the party of Lincoln, Grant, Garfield and Harrison, there is a marked feeling of unrest and indifference generally, and a defection in New York City that calls for the serious consideration of thoughtful leaders".<sup>105</sup>

Most of the Talented Tenth continued at least temporarily to feel that it was their duty to keep the flock within the Republican fold. Roosevelt was returned, but by 1905 even that most Republican of black editors, T.T. Fortune, was admitting that constancy to that party was enforced through lack of choice, rather than being voluntary.<sup>106</sup> The new Republican movements in the South were distinctly white men's movements, and the party leadership was forced to decide between the votes of Southern whites or Northern blacks.<sup>107</sup> If the Republicans were deserting the blacks, the latter too were becoming less committed.

---

102. Baltimore Afro-American, May 30, 1896, p.2.

103. New York Times, Nov.18, 1898, p.6.

104. New York Times, May 11, 1899, p.2.

105. Colored American, May 7, 1904.

106. New York Age, Mar.2, 1905, p.2.

107. Editorial, Harper's Weekly (Jan.9, 1909), p.5.

Horizon, the magazine of the Niagara Movement, announced that the Socialists were the only party to treat the Negroes as men, advocated anything to beat Taft, but pinned its hopes on the notion that Foraker, the senator who had come to the defence of the Brownsville soldiers, might yet be a candidate.<sup>108</sup> The Horizon recognized that the Negro would and should vote for a Republican loyal to the traditions of his party, but was convinced that the reactionary wing of the Republican party would triumph, aided by black votes. Claiming that by 1908 the black voter held the balance of power in twelve Northern states, whom the Republicans contemptuously ignored, they advised that the Democrats would not be so ungrateful if their power depended on black votes, but the choice was still between the "Devil and the Deep Sea".<sup>109</sup> Washington stayed solidly in the Republican camp, but DuBois fluctuated between the Socialists and the Democrats, while Trotter and Walters actively campaigned for William Jennings Bryan. In the three-cornered fight of 1912, most blacks divided between Rooseveltian Progressivism and Wilsonian Democracy, intensifying the split that had become really wide in 1908. In New York, coloured Democrats had been organizing since 1910, while in the mid-term elections blacks had substantially aided Democrats in Ohio, New Jersey and New York. The Association of Amalgamated Negro Organizations in Oklahoma had come out behind the Socialists, planning to stand by the weak and oppressed, even if this brought temporary setbacks. In the border states, especially Missouri, the Democrats had actually begun to court black votes, a situation which inspired those suggesting a switch to the Democrats.

---

108. Horizon (Feb.1908), pp.17-18.

109. Horizon (Apr.1908), pp.4-6.

The 1910 experience strengthened DuBois' concept of the black balance of power, which consisted in effect of 500,000 strategically distributed votes, so that in 1912 he aimed to sell this support dearly. The faith of DuBois and many of the Talented Tenth in the objectivity of scholars and intellectuals led them to back Wilson, whom, although a Southerner, they believed would be led by his brains and culture to ensure education and other rights for the blacks on whom his presidency depended. DuBois realized that the Socialists whom he favoured had no hope, therefore, through the Crisis, he classified the Republicans as faithful but brainless, and the Progressives and "the unspeakable Roosevelt" as capable of being understood but not followed, and opted for the Democrats who had proven their goodwill to blacks in many Northern states and cities. 100,000 black voters in the North were persuaded to vote for Woodrow Wilson, and with him Hoke Smith, Cole Blease, Jim Vardaman, Jeff Davis and the "Negro-hating South".<sup>110</sup>.

However Washington worked for Taft, taking with him those members of the Talented Tenth who held Presidential appointments.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand some editors rejoiced that the Flinn-Roosevelt combination allowed the Negro to vote for Progressive Republicanism.<sup>112</sup> This diversification was more negative than positive:-

"The colored men whom I met from the different states and from whom I tried to learn the situation, seemed as bitter towards the President on account of his Southern policy as they were towards Roosevelt on account of the Brownsville affair..."<sup>113</sup>.

---

110. Crisis, Vol.I, no.I, p.3; no.II, p.5; no.IV, p.12; no.IV, p.20 (1910). Vol.III, no.IV, pp.180-1 (1911). Vol.V, no.I, p.29; no.II, p.75 (1912).

111. Campaign Issues - 'Negroes' Folder, C. Hilles Mss. Yale.

112. Pittsburgh Courier, Jan.27, 1912, p.4.

113. W.McKinley to R.Smalls, June 28, 1912, C.G.W. Mss. L.C.

Lilywhitism on the one hand and Wilson's consistent subservience to his Southern support on racial grounds, provoked both bitterness and desperation. Open letters to the President, although they vented black grievances in an articulate and passionate way, had no tangible results.<sup>114.</sup> By 1916, the Negro had no enthusiasm for either campaign, and a move was made towards the formation of a separate Negro party, the Socialists still being regarded as ineffectual. Some members of the Talented Tenth had swung round from the ideal of the full exercise of democratic rights in choosing between candidates, to the belief that the Negro must vote as a unit or be politically emasculated.<sup>115.</sup> The N.A.A.C.P. suggested in 1917 that it should be entrusted with the investigation and co-operation necessary to list candidates suitable for the black franchise, and had earlier attempted this with a survey of candidates in the 1914 mid-term elections.<sup>116.</sup> Electoral reforms, such as the abolition of the white primary or the introduction of proportional representation would have favoured the Negro, the former allowing him a more meaningful political involvement in the South and the latter possibly giving him 56 Congressional representatives, instead of none, which was his share thanks to Southern oligarchy and Northern gerrymandering. It was still hoped however that the War migrations would facilitate the election of blacks from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois.<sup>117.</sup>

Support on the basis of Republican legend rather than practice led to long-standing black grievances against that party, and the

---

114. Crisis, Vol.V, no.V, (Mar., 1913), p.296; Vol.VI, no.V (Sept. 1913), pp.232-3.

115. Crisis, Vol.XII, no.VI (Oct. 1916), p.268.

116. Crisis, Vol.XV, no.I (Nov. 1917), p.7; Vol.IX, no.I (Nov. 1914), p.22.

117. Crisis, Vol.XV, no.IV (Feb. 1918), p.163.



allegiance was readily foresworn during the Depression when the Democrats offered relief and relief jobs.<sup>118.</sup> From 1890 onwards the movement into the Democratic party was both a process of attraction and rejection. The Republican failure to condemn lynching, endorse black candidates or stem the tide of encroachment onto Negro rights were the factors, operating from 1877 on, that caused many blacks to become hostile to the Republicans, while the Democratic urban machines played a crucial role in coalescing that disillusion into active Democratic support. The Democratic machines lured most votes in the cities. For example, in Missouri, between 1890 and 1902 most blacks, 66%, lived in the cities, where the Democratic machine needed to attract their votes to combat Republican gains from migration into the state. By offering patronage and protection, the Democrats in St. Louis and Kansas City provided the organization vital in winning these urban victories.<sup>119.</sup> In 1904, the Republicans regained many deserters, because of Democratic attacks on black suffrage in the Southern states. Failing to take political advantage of the Brownsville incident, the Missouri Democrats received a boost from black rejection of the Republican party with its vague promises of future rights and its current policy of rejecting black delegates. Most blacks remained inactive Republicans, but others became increasingly connected with the bosses and machines.<sup>120.</sup> Republican fear of the Colored Democracy in New York City and State resulted in a concerted effort to undermine that organization. In 1902, 6,000 coloured men were enrolled as Democrats in New York City and 11,000 in the State;<sup>121.</sup> by 1915 there were less than 1,000 in the city. Tammany Hall had not found it necessary to cultivate the black vote before World

118. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Republicans and the Black Voter', Nation, Vol. 110, (June 5, 1902), p. 757.

Bunche, op.cit., p. 18.

119. L.H. Grothaus, The Negro in Missouri Politics (Ph.D. University of Missouri, 1970), pp. 23-30.

120. Ibid., pp. 40, 71; Crisis, Vol. V, no. I (Nov. 1912), p. 30.

121. J.S. Clarkson to R.H. Terrell, Nov. 6, 1902. R.H.T. Mss. L.C.

War I, and had often been violently anti-Negro to woo other groups. The election of John F. Hylan as Mayor in 1917, who gave 9 patronage appointments to blacks, and the subsequent revival of the United Colored Democracy, created a torrent of votes flowing towards the Democrats,<sup>122</sup> after which time Tammany began to cater to its black constituents.

The Black Democrats were attracted by principles as well as patronage. The Democrats were presented as the party of the labourers and industrial workers, in stark contrast to the Republicans who represented capital and organized business on a large scale. Black men were more likely to vote Democrat than black women, after the passage of the XIX Amendment, who retained, allegedly, their unswerving conservatism, irrespective of the dangers of being classified as a one-party race in a two-party system.<sup>123</sup> When Horizon took up the Democratic cause in 1908, it attempted to widen the discussion beyond the racial issue to the total platform of the strict regulation of corporate wealth, the independence of the coloured people in the West Indies and the Phillippines, the right of labour to strive for better working conditions and higher wages, the low tariff and the abolition of all special privileges.<sup>124</sup> The editors argued that blacks should vote for justice rather than jobs, for the abolition of the Color Line, and should vote rationally rather than racially. Black votes for the Democrats were conceived certainly as a risk, but also as a challenge to emancipate the Northern party from the Solid South, on whom it had

---

122. C.W.Anderson to B.T.Washington, Nov.6,1903. A.L.H. Mss. T.I. R.H.Brisbane, The Rise of Protest Organizations Among Negroes (Ph.D. Harvard,1949), pp.118-122.

123. K. Miller, Out of the House of Bondage (New York,1914),pp.206-8.

124. Horizon (July 1908), p.5.

to depend because of Negro opposition. If the blacks delivered New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and could swing several others, not unnaturally they could expect recognition and reward in favourable legislation.<sup>125</sup> Walters believed that the Democrats would repeal legislation inimical to black interests, for the division of the Negro vote removed the so-called black menace, allowing the fairminded Southerner to accord his black neighbour his full rights. Walters also contended that the Negro was naturally a Democrat, which would soon become apparent if all racial restrictions were removed.<sup>126</sup> The National Negro Democratic Convention appealed to the blacks to divide their vote and to join all political parties, exactly as white men did, and made a concerted effort to incorporate the interests of the common people.<sup>127</sup> The policies of Wilson struck fear into the hearts of coloured Democrats lest their movement be destroyed, and that "...a once loyal and patriotic people...(would be driven into)...a state of sedition and rebellion".<sup>128</sup> Prominent Democrats from the 1912 Campaign protested at Wilson's attitudes - Trotter almost immediately, and DuBois and Walters when they found themselves grievously disappointed and unable to campaign for the President's reelection.<sup>129</sup> That left only third or splinter parties as alternatives, but it was not until 1924 that any black organization took "the unprecedented course" of endorsing a third party, when the N.A.A.C.P. came out in favour of

---

125. Horizon (Aug. 1908), pp.1-5.

126. A.Walters, My Life and Work (New York, 1917), pp.183-6.

127. Negro Year Book, 1912, p.30.

128. R.N.Wood (President, United Colored Democracy of New York) to W.Wilson, June 16, 1914, W.W. Mss. L.C.

129. W.M. Trotter to W.Wilson, Mar.11, 1913; A.Walters to W.Wilson, Jan.10, 1916; W.E.B.DuBois to W.Wilson, Oct.10, 1916. W.W. Mss. L.C.

LaFollette.<sup>130.</sup>

Of the third parties, the Socialists merit special attention. They welcomed blacks into their ranks, although they were never successful in enlisting large numbers. They had nothing special to offer, as the class and economic oppression of the Negro was in their eyes only an extreme form of that common oppression of all workers. Blacks were reluctant to invite the stigma of radicalism when the stigma of race was already overwhelming, and when the Socialists failed to challenge the Southern bi-racial system.<sup>131.</sup> Negroes were not unionized in white unions in any meaningful sense, hence those blacks who espoused Socialism were intellectuals rather than workers, who remained indifferent to and possibly even unaware of the movement. The American Socialist Party in 1901 assured the blacks of their fellowship, declared the identity of the Negro workers' struggle with that of all labour against the exploitation of capital and socio-economic prejudice, and they invited blacks to join their movement.<sup>132.</sup> The black press welcomed the advances of these whites, although they hesitated to think what fruits the union of conservative republicans and the socialists might bear. The Socialist Party was much more inclined to pay attention to the Negro after he became urbanized in the North following the migrations, but in the years before the War they did make official statements against the division of the working class on racial lines.<sup>133.</sup>

The doctrines of Socialism dovetailed neatly with the preachings of the Negro church. Reverdy Ransom upheld the Negro's mission as

---

130. O.G.Villard to R.M.LaFollette, July 11, 1924. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

131. W.Record, The Negro and the Communist Party (Chapel Hill, 1951), p.11.

132. Colored American, Aug.31, 1901, p.8.

133. J.Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America (New York, 1967), p.69.

that of unselfishness, of war against social, political and economic inequalities for a bringing in of the realization of the brotherhood of man.<sup>134</sup> The Socialism advocated by the editors of the Horizon was tailored to suit the race's needs. They did not anticipate the complete socialization of the means of production, the entire abolition of private property in capital, but rather a greater ownership for the public good than was then the case.<sup>135</sup> The hope of the Afro-American lay not in wealth power, oppression and snobbishness, but in helpfulness, efficiency, service and self-respect.<sup>136</sup> Thus had socialism been trimmed to correlate with the teachings of the church, of Tuskegee, and of the Talented Tenth.

After his flirtation with socialism in 1908, DuBois resigned in 1912 to support Wilson, but all the time Socialism was gradually becoming more acceptable to blacks. The years 1909-1919 were the decade of growth and prestige of the N.A.A.C.P., whose radicalism was not ideological, but rather a challenge to the roots of bi-racialism and the institutionalized practices of segregation and discrimination, even although a majority of the Association's founders, black and white, claimed or were thought to be socialists. 1917 saw the launching of the Messenger by Chandler Owen and Asa Philip Randolph. Condemning the failure of the present generation of black leaders for their "unscientific" approach to racial problems, the Messenger saw the awakening of the "political Rip Van Winkle of America" with the black man's appreciation of socialism. At the end of the War the time was ripe for a great mass movement among Negroes, assuming four different forms, viz., labour unions, farmers protective unions, co-operative business and socialism.

---

134. R.C.Ransom, 'Socialism and the Negro' Alexander's Magazine, Vol.I (May 1905), p.16.

135. Horizon (Feb.1907), p.5.

136. Horizon (Feb.1907), p.7.



W.A. Domingo, later to be on the inner circles of the U.N.I.A., attempted to sell socialism to blacks as "the pure Christianity preached by Jesus, and practised by the early Christians, adapted to the more complex conditions of modern life".<sup>137.</sup> Despite the Socialist insistence that all racial differences would disappear in the coming collectivism, they still advanced "Some Reasons Why Negroes Should Vote the Socialist Ticket" - in fact a total of 25. Among these were enumerated the working class nature of the socialist party and the Negro people; the abolition of high rents; city markets selling farm produce at wholesale prices; public ownership of the subway, elevated and surface car lines, and the electric, gas and telephone companies; the increased employment opportunities for blacks that public ownership would create; better schools; free food, books and clothing for school children; more playgrounds, and a more efficient police system using brains rather than billies; equal industrial and political opportunities for all, regardless of sex or race; and the abolition of the present wage system.<sup>138.</sup> This programme did encourage 25% of New York blacks to vote Socialist when Randolph ran for Secretary of State of New York in 1917.<sup>139.</sup> Until 1925, Randolph considered himself a writer and editor rather than a labour organizer, and all his days he was a consistent foe of Communism. The time was auspicious in the post-war turmoil of 1919 for the Socialists to make inroads into the black vote, but despite their spending of large sums of money to enlist black support and their alleged financing of various coloured publications,<sup>140.</sup> they gained only sympathy of a few and the votes of even fewer of the Talented Tenth.

---

137. Messenger, Vol.2 (Jan.1918), p.23; Vol.2 (July,1918),p.8; (May-June,1919), p.8; (July,1919),p.22.

138. Messenger, Vol.I (Nov.1917), p.34.

139. E.R.Embree, Thirteen Against the Odds (New York,1944), p.217.

140. L.Walton to T.J.Jones, Mar.27,1919. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

The black's loyalty to his church as the principal medium of his self-expression was a problem that plagued all aspiring leadership groups, who for that reason sought either to ally with the church or to reform it in their interests. That the church was the centre of all recreational activities in rural areas was an assertion on which all observers were unanimous,<sup>141.</sup> and because of this the black pastor was in a unique position of influence.<sup>142.</sup> The church, in addition to its spiritual work, provided an effective organization, an approved place for social activities, such as concerts, picnics and lectures, a forum for expression, and a plan for living. The church was more than aware of both its power and responsibilities as "the greatest force for the religious, moral and social uplift of the people".<sup>143.</sup> The Bishops of the A.M.E., the A.M.E.Zion, and the C.M.E. Churches estimated that they controlled a following of one and a half million people, but one of the greatest obstacles to consolidating this as an instrument for bettering racial conditions was the fact that the Church was factionalized into diffuse denominations. However, if they could solidify and unite with the protection and civic organizations, they could have constituted a considerable force. Unlike in the white race, the black church was the major means of communication for most blacks,<sup>144.</sup> and so from the beginning it played a crucial leadership role.

- 
141. J.A. Atkins, The Age of Jim-Crow (New York, 1964), p.50.  
 J.D. Corrothers, In Spite of the Handicap (New York, 1916), p.195.  
 C.S. Johnson, Growing Up in the Black Belt (New York, 1967), p.135.  
 C.S. Johnson, Shadows of the Plantation (Chicago, 1934), p.182.
142. S.N. Brown, My Own Life Story (Washington, D.C., 1924), p.27.
143. A. Grant, 'The Negro Ministry', Alexander's Magazine, Vol.2 (May, 1906), p.82.
144. Editorial, A.M.E. Review, Vol.31 (1914-15), p.65.  
New York Age, July 19, 1917, p.4.

Between Emancipation and the War, the Church declined somewhat as the central force in the black world, on account of the wider growth of secular agencies, as well as because of its own inability to adjust to the ramifications of the urbanization process.<sup>145</sup> While it was still the single most influential black institution in 1920, it was no longer unchallenged nor pre-eminent. The black church had gained its grip on the people during slavery, when it was able to stabilize family and sexual relations, providing a basis for social cohesion following the disruption of the African mores.<sup>146</sup> In the post-Reconstruction period, the Minister turned from preaching freedom, to morality and the rewards of the life beyond, redirecting the folk religion and enhancing his personal power.<sup>147</sup> In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the churches divided into conservative and progressive groups as to what their functions and ideals ought to be, the conservative element becoming so dogmatic in its treatment of the rising progressive minority that the institution for a number of years lost ground among the Talented Tenth. In the course of time the difference between the two factions became more one of ideas than of age, while at the same time educated Afro-Americans insisted that education should go along with religion as the panacea for racial ills, in as much as there can be little revelation of God where there is arrested mental development.<sup>148</sup> After the migrations of 1914-1919, the Negro churches in the urban North were compelled to change their

---

145. S.M.Scheiner, Negro Mecca (New York, 1965), p.87.

146. E.F.Frazier, The Negro Church in America (Liverpool, 1964), pp.29 and 6.

147. J.R.Washington, Black Religion (Boston, 1964), p.35.

148. C.G.Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, 1921), pp.247-250.

emphasis from that of a religious to that of a race institution, and to become associated in the popular mind with "racial advancement". The patterns of religious behaviour also came increasingly to reflect the different social and economic classes the church served. In contrast to the almost complete secularization of worship among the upper and middle classes was the search of the lower classes for salvation and the expiation of sin.<sup>149</sup> The Negro Church was not only multi-denominational, but was also challenged by the proliferation of the various sects and cults. Throughout white America, c.1890-1920 was a boom period for charismatic and pentecostal sects, but it is possible that this period was a time for the cult in black America, as more rational alternatives were offered. It was the failure of the latter that led to a revival of the cults, following the patterns established by the white revivalists.<sup>150</sup> These cults attracted a wide following through the desire of the convert to get some supernatural power, the proffered relief from physical or mental illness, the personality of the leader and the increase in racial consciousness. The Talented Tenth closely observed these phenomena, but were hostile on both intellectual and social grounds.<sup>151</sup> This antagonism was partially a defensive reaction against the ridiculing of the intellectuals in which some prophets revelled, and a repugnance for the kind of esoterica preached by these men, but it was also inspired by fear that the uninhibited worshippers would reinforce the negative stereotypes held by many whites, which they had been trying to overcome.

There was a very distinct divide within the churches between the

---

149. W.A. Shack, 'The Black Muslims', Race, Vol.3 (1962), p.58.

150. E.T. Clark, The Small Sects in America (Nashville, 1949), pp.116-130.  
J.R. Washington, Jr., Black Sects and Cults (New York, 1972), p.83.

151. A.H. Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis (Philadelphia, 1944), pp.76, 54.

educated theologians and the majority of uncouth, uneducated ministers. The former group were very small but were largely responsible for the formulation of theories on Religion as a solvent of the racial problem. As well as preaching, these churchmen undertook social and practical work. The Negro church that did extensive social work among the masses was the exception, for in general the charitable programmes of most Negro churches were erratic, although many pastors worked within non-Negro or for charitable non-Church organizations.<sup>152.</sup>

In 1905 there was little awareness of the obligations of black churches in any organized way, except in the fields of education, missions and personal charity, but in 1906, DuBois prophesised that the church would differentiate into many activities, out of which would come large agencies for social reform and uplift.<sup>153.</sup> In 1900 the Institutional Church of Chicago, under the guidance of R.C. Ransom and R.R. Wright Junior, had endeavoured to help the black community in practical daily living. As well as social work, they inaugurated the Men's Sunday Club which discussed social, economic and political as well as religious matters, especially with reference to Afro-Americans.<sup>154.</sup>

Ransom had realized as early as 1896 that the old stereotype form of church services was falling far short of meeting the religious, moral and social conditions confronting the race, but his efforts in the settlement houses in the slums of Chicago (1900-04) and New York (1913-14) always met with strong opposition from the church hierarchy. This he compared to the churches' cold indifference to the anti-lynching crusade of Ida B. Wells-Barnett.<sup>155.</sup>

---

152. Scheiner, op.cit., p.91.

153. Ms. 'The Negro Church', 1906, Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.

154. R.R.Wright, 87 Years Behind the Black Curtain (Phil.,1965),pp.94-5.

155. R.C.Ransom, The Pilgrimage of Harriet Ransom's Son (Nashville), p.77.



Ransom and Wright also published their conception of their Christian mission, Ransom as editor of the A.M.E. Review (1912-24), and Wright as editor of the Christian Recorder (1909-28).<sup>156</sup> Another editor, C.H. Phillips of the Christian Index (1894-1902) had set out to give his church, the C.M.E., a good paper, keeping its columns open for intelligent discussion and encouraging the best thinkers to write contributions, while trying to reunite the church after the ugly suspicions of the Memphis General Conference, and counteracting the growing spirit of injustice and colour blindness, which he felt was threatening the unity and harmony of his church.<sup>157</sup> The use of religion to cure racial ills was to be the test of the strength of Christianity.

The Church was able to attract some members of the Talented Tenth as they felt it offered them their best opportunity:-

"to evidence their managerial ability or fitness to control, develop and successfully administer large and valuable corporate interests",

at a time when few positions requiring executive ability were open to them in either the federal government or the states.<sup>158</sup> Another reason advanced for the attraction of the pulpit, was that in addition to being an outlet for the Negro's genius and providing attractive leadership of the masses in many forms of activity, was that the Negro mind was characterized by a deep spiritual nature and lively mode of manifestation. His mission was to keep the race on its destined course, from which it was being seduced by the influence of modern teaching and its material exploitation.<sup>159</sup> Although this sounds like

---

156. S.R.Fullinwider, The Mind and Mood of Black America (Homewood, Ill., 1969), p.44.

157. C.H.Phillips, From the Farm to the Bishopric (Nashville, 1932), p.135.

158. Ibid., p.193.

159. K.Miller, 'The College-bred Negro and the Church', South-Western Christian Advocate, Dec.14, 1922. K.M. Mss. H.U.

the argument of white paternalism, it was in fact the point of view to which blacks themselves subscribed.

Black churchmen only gradually discovered that reason and goodwill were necessary but insufficient as a means of creative change.<sup>160.</sup>

Bishop Abram Grant (A.M.E.) reminded his fellow pastors:-

"As God has always fought the battles of the oppressed, so he will fight our battle. God has not forgotten the negro. The negro must not forget God." <sup>161.</sup>

The A.M.E. at its 1903 Convention took a very conciliatory position towards the South, virtually thanking it for the discrimination which had forced the blacks to develop their own industry and economy, and suggesting that the Negro was safer and more prosperous South of the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>162.</sup> In the words of Bishop B.W.Arnett:-

"The mission of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to the darker races of the world is to teach the mind to think, the heart to love and the hands to work for humanity and God."<sup>163.</sup>

Some bishops were more radical, like Bishop Derrick, who demanded:-

"manhood rights, not black manhood rights nor white manhood rights...But the white man cannot be just to us because he has in him none of the spirit of Christ."<sup>164.</sup>

The National Negro Baptist Convention openly and vehemently denounced the outrages committed against blacks.<sup>165.</sup> The Christ-like image of the black man and his mission persisted in the writings and speeches of both Washington and DuBois, while W.H. Ferris conceptualized the theory of an evolutionary scheme of history in which the Negro's

160. J.R.Washington, The Politics of God (Boston,1967), p.3.

161. The Sun, May 21,1899. Clipping, H.I.

162. New York Times, July 26,1903, p.3.

163. A.M.E. Review, Vol.19, (1902-3), p.585.

164. New York Times, May 15,1904. Clipping, H.I.

165. New York Times, Sept.17, 1903, p.8.

mission was to spiritualize Western civilization. The Negro gained equal status with other groups because he too was a reflection of the mind of God.<sup>166</sup> Through their church periodicals, Ransom and Wright succeeded in taking this mission ideology from the shoulders of a weak but lovable God and giving it to the Negro, thus transferring Christianity from a God-centred to a race-centred religion.<sup>167</sup> DuBois followed these two editors where others, more conservative, had feared to tread. Crisis editorialized on the Negro problem as the test of the Church, challenging it to implement its own dogma, such as the Golden Rule. DuBois believed that the church would eventually live up to its sublime ethical code, but by 1918, he had decided that any Christianity that did not practise human brotherhood was spurious.<sup>168</sup> DuBois was more disgusted with the pretensions of the white church than the failure of the black, the former had failed in race relations, whereas the defects of the latter were in its power to remedy.

So much attention was paid to the leadership role of the Church as it was one of the agencies through which the Negro adapted to his subordinate status.<sup>169</sup> This was felt even within the churches themselves, where the races were usually completely separate in separate churches, and where they did worship in the same building, the blacks were usually cordoned off in the gallery or at the rear. The coloured churches did reflect the financial condition of the coloured people,<sup>170</sup> a cause of much criticism by the Talented Tenth, but the pastor did sometimes take the lead in exemplifying the virtues of self-sufficiency

---

166. W.H.Ferris, The African Abroad (2 Vols., New Haven, 1913).

167. Editorials, Christian Recorder (1909-36); A.M.E.Review (1912-24), Fullinwider, op.cit., p.36.

168. Crisis, Vol.VI (Oct.1913),p.291; Vol.XI (Apr.1916),p.302; Vol.XV (Jan.1918), p.112.

169. N.Glenn in L.Schneider (ed.), Religion, Culture and Society (New York,1964), p.623.

170. New York Times, Sept.8,1897, p.10.

and spiritual growth,<sup>171.</sup> where he was aware of the economic factors of the situation. Although some revelled in the other-worldly, many pastors did endeavour to make their people "economic, thrifty and altruistic", which was supposedly proven by the superiority of the social life of Christians compared with that of those less fortunate around them.<sup>172.</sup>

Both the Talented Tenth and the Tuskegeeseans set out to remedy the defects of the Negro church, the former by revelation, exposure and constructive criticism, the latter by the practical training of rural pastors in Phelps Hall. A sociological analysis of the black church attributed its status to the failure of American Christianity in race relations, and revealed that the church's non-progressive programme failed to appeal to black intellectuals; most of the pastors were poorly trained, less than 10% being college graduates, who had imbued an abstract, magical conception of religion; there were too many Negro churches, many of whom were in debt, and whose membership could not be counted upon to support the church regularly and consistently; the urban churches manifested little interest in juvenile delinquency or other social and environmental problems, and the rural churches suffered on account of the instability and poverty of the rural Negroes.<sup>173.</sup>

The American Negro Academy presented a paper on The Defects of the Negro Church, enumerating them as the tendency to lay stress on outwardness rather than inwardness, the neglect of rural communities, the composition of the Ministry, the commitment of the laity and the excessive emotionalism in worship.<sup>174.</sup> This was a savage indictment delivered to

---

171. H.S.Savage, The Life and Times of Isaac Lane (Nashville, 1958), p.145.

172. J.R.L.Diggs, 'Negro Church Life', Voice of the Negro, Vol.I, (Feb. 1904), p.50.

173. B.E.Mays and J.E.Nicolson, The Negro's Church (New York, 1931), p.278.

174. Orishatukeh Faduma, The Defects of the Negro Church, A.N.A. Occasional Paper (II), 1904.

an assembly which included several clerics. A more moderate appraisal of the stresses on the Minister as a professional man was made by B.G. Brawley. He noted the deference accorded the minister, who was confronted with questions of ethics that did not trouble those in other occupations and was expected to adhere closely to high standards, for conduct not essentially wrong in others could be unbecoming in a minister. The profession as he saw it was increasing in learning, but more important, it was increasing in altruism.<sup>175</sup> The black press, always ready to condemn the ignorance of the ministry, remarked on the "Intellectual evolution" of the A.M.E. Church,<sup>176</sup> but doubted the wisdom and propriety of churchmen dabbling in politics.<sup>177</sup> DuBois' Atlanta study of the Negro Church in 1904 revealed that many pastors were unfit to be moral leaders because of debts, women and drink, while he also claimed that the Black Church was an African survival, and suggested that blacks and whites ought to have separate churches, as whites did not admit blacks to full participation. This provoked a heated, abusive white response,<sup>178</sup> but set the tone for all future analysis of the Church by the Talented Tenth. The Age claimed in 1905 that the race had enough church edifices to meet the demand for the next twenty-five years, hence any other expenditure was both unwarranted and wasteful,<sup>179</sup> and bemoaned the lack of education of the pastorate, on account of which they had been largely untouched by the "purifying" influences of Darwinism, making them a laughing-stock with the educated of their congregation.<sup>180</sup> The Age also blamed the black

---

175. B.G.Brawley, Notes on the Minister as a Professional Man, Ms. no date. B.G.B. Mss. H.U.

176. Freeman, May 9, 1896, p.4.

177. Guardian, Oct. 11, 1902, p.2; New York Age, June 6, 1907, p.2; Mar. 5, 1908, p.4.

178. W.L.Fleming, 'Review of "The Negro Church"', Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 19 (Dec. 1914), pp. 702-3.

179. New York Age, Mar. 9, 1905, p.2.

180. New York Age, May 17, 1906, p.2; See also Chapter II.



pastors for not exerting enough influence to encourage a faster rate of moral and material development among the people.<sup>181.</sup> This anti-clericalism extended to an attack on one of the pillars of the black church - the Amen Corner. The Age denounced the theology of the black church as not that of the seminary but that of the Amen Corner, the covenant meeting and the classroom, a source of weakness for the church "with a rotten Amen Corner will have a rotten pew; and the rotten pew will give any church a rotten reputation".<sup>182.</sup>

Black intellectual anti-clericalism was most extreme in the pages of the Messenger. Converted into a business, the interest of the church had focused more on profits than on souls, on money-raising than on salvation. Its failure was seen as a result of its integration into the capitalist system, and resulted in its failure to educate the people. The Ministry were ignorant of the modern problems of capital and labour, disinterested in Unionism and regarded the use of the church in politics as sacrilegious. Further the editors claimed that the Negro ministry had failed to use its power to arouse blacks against lynching and disfranchisement. They demanded a new, radical ministry, on which the black might centre his political and economic strivings.<sup>183.</sup> This totally underestimated the role of the black churches in the rural communities, but to a certain extent, it warned the ministry that unless they adapted to the new post-war, post-migration conditions, the black church would become dysfunctional.

If conditions in America continued to be wretched and deplorable, one obvious answer was to withdraw completely - to Africa, Latin America, or a separate state. Dr. W.H. Brooks suggested that if a state of territory could be set aside for blacks, where they could work out their

---

181. New York Age, Apr.29,1909, p.4.

182. New York Age, Dec.26,1907, p.4; Sept.29,1910,p.4.

183. Messenger, Vol.2 (Oct.1919), p.6.

future "under the Stars and Stripes, with the encouragement and aid of the high set ideals of Christianity" he would favour the plan, provided that the race was not absolutely cut off from any other section of the country.<sup>184.</sup> Separate state policies were advocated from time to time, but were never viable, meeting with the scorn of whites and the hostility of most black leaders, who saw therein the endorsement of the principle of segregation. Plans to migrate to the Carribean confronted the regimes of a spreading American imperialism or European colonialism, but a party of blacks did emigrate to Durango, Mexico, in 1895. Offered free transportation and lands from which they were entitled to the proceeds of cotton or corn, 7-8,000 blacks ventured South from Alabama.<sup>185.</sup> Most migrations were intersectional rather than international, with black labourers moving from the South to the North and West following the inducement of better jobs, or fleeing from some local tragedy. The most famous means of opting-out were the "Back-to-Africa" schemes, and these deserve attention, for they compounded many of the doctrines preached by the Talented Tenth about Africa and the Black Man's Mission, while simultaneously denying the optimism of the intellectuals that America would ever fulfil her promise.

"Repatriation" schemes were originally a white man's fantasy, dating back to slavery times and sanctioned by Lincoln himself. More a negative reaction to America than a positive identification with Africa, emigration appealed to both disheartened blacks and disenchanted whites as a means of solving the racial problem. Senator Morgan of Alabama, for example, supported the exodus, especially after the discovery that artificial cotton was cheaper to produce than the Southern staple,<sup>186.</sup>

---

184. New York Times, Mar.21,1904, p.9.

185. Daily Picayune, Jan.19,1895, p.8; Feb.4,1895,p.6; New York Times, Mar.20,1895, p.2.

186. Daily Picayune, Mar.24,1895, p.7.

and the white press faithfully recorded the departures and fortunes of black colonists. The sailing of the *Horsa* for Liberia with 200 carefully selected migrants was reported, as was the visit of Dr. Elyden, who advised that:-

"the only means by which Africa can be evangelized, colonized and civilized is through the agency of the American Negro."<sup>187</sup>.

Churchmen were pre-eminent in this debate. In 1899, Bishop Grant discouraged those who advocated migration to Liberia or any other part of Africa, because of the cheapness of labour, the different culture and the frightful climate. In the same vein he advised blacks to buy farms rather than drift to the cities. However European influence in Africa convinced Grant that America should also have its share in peaceable expansion and rich acquisitions, by establishing a protectorate over Liberia, who would eventually be admitted to the sisterhood of states.<sup>188</sup> Presumably under his scheme any black migrants would retain their U.S. citizenship. Bishop Derrick visited England in 1904, endeavouring to get the British Foreign Office to give the ministry of his church greater opportunities to reach the natives in South Africa, and he believed that the Afro-American was tired of the United States with its lynchings and burnings, and was prepared to go back to do the necessary work in the land of his fathers.<sup>189</sup> By that time plans had been drawn up for the New York and Liberia steamship line, under the direction of blacks, to establish a regular 15-day service to Liberia, and in 1906, Bishop C.S. Smith of Detroit went to West Africa to see what opportunities could be created for prospective migrants.<sup>190</sup>

---

187. New York Times, Mar.15,1895, p.10; July 24,1895, p.14.

188. The Sun, May 21,1899; Lynchburg Advance, Nov.6,1900; Nashville Banner, Feb.18, 1901. Clippings, H.I.

189. New York Age, Jan.14,1904; New York Times, May 15,1904. Clippings, H.I.

190. New York Times, June 9,1904, p.1; Nov.24,1906, p.11.

It was relatively easy to transfer the concept of a black mission to save whites to an ideology of the redemption of Africa. Prophecies were rife of "the next great migration" wherein the black would return from the land of his serfdom to the continent of his birth, taking with him all that he had learned, and using it to enlighten the "Dark Continent".<sup>191</sup> The lure of the African Paradise often turned out to be a cruel joke, or the exploitation of ignorance and hope, but despite the revelations of death and disaster in West Africa,<sup>192</sup> many blacks continued to look on Africa as their safety-valve. The American frontier offered no release for them, but the African dream was a suitable substitute, which even if it was never really viable, by the very fact of its existence, provided hope. The symbolic value of Liberia was considered important enough by Moton, Scott and Lewis to request an interview with the President,<sup>193</sup> in order to influence public opinion in black America, and in 1920, the American Colonization Society was having to reject applicants for migration as they had no available funds, (their finances being tied up in litigation).<sup>194</sup> On the other hand, some members of the Talented Tenth were prepared to condemn colonization as inexpedient, a position summarized by T. Gilbert Hazel. The Government was not prepared to assume the burden of protection of these American citizens; such a step was national cowardice, a surrender to conditions; instead of desertion, more expedient would be a gradual egression and dispersal of the race from the most thickly settled districts of the South into other parts of the U.S. Thus relieving the congestion would not be a solution in itself, but it would

---

191. New York Age, Mar.13,1913; Arena, Vol.40 (1908), pp.62-5.

192. New York Times, Feb.11,1914, p.5; African Times and Orient Review, Vol.1 (1913), p.289-9.

193. R.R.Moton to W.Wilson, Feb.27,1913. W.W. Mss. L.C.

194. Secretary-Treasurer to T.B.Hazely, Dec.29,1920. A.C.S. Mss. L.C.

be a preliminary step to its solution.<sup>195.</sup> In general, the Talented Tenth as a group, preferred to weather the storm in the States, rather than face unknown odds. They could see their progress up from slavery, and could confidently hope for more.

The most eloquent and reasoning of the emigration advocates was a distinguished member of the Talented Tenth, Bishop Henry McNe<sup>a</sup>ll Turner. The bishop proclaimed that "there is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro" and that he had:-

"absolutely no interest in the issues of this bloody, lynching nation...This rotten country has no business being a nation anyway. It is an organized mob from Maine to Texas."<sup>196.</sup>

The Freeman called him a prophet born one thousand years before his time, praised his founding of a literary convention, and applauded his stand which it described as an eternal protest against the tyranny of the times, for he preferred banishment to the curtailing of his rights.<sup>197.</sup> In many ways this reflects the almost universal admiration and respect for Turner, among both those who supported and those who disagreed with his plans. Turner's declaration that his race received no protection at all from their government, did not enjoy basic civil rights, and that "A colored man in Africa feels like a man", instead of an intruder as in America, was quickly repudiated by his fellow A.M.E. Bishop, Derrick, who reminded the race that America was the best country on earth for the Negro.<sup>198.</sup> It was his home, where he ought to remain and develop his highest and best talents. Turner believed that the Negro had been brought to America to learn civilization, that he might return to Africa to teach it there. His leaving would save the whites from hell and disgrace, and the blacks from disloyalty to their government, for if

195. T.G.Hazel, 'Suggestive Thoughts', Colored American Magazine (Feb. 1900), pp. 242-5.

196. Aptheker, op.cit., p. 757; Cleveland Gazette, July 18, 1896.

197. Freeman, June 20, 1896, p. 4; Apr. 29, p. 4 and Aug. 12, p. 4., 1899.

198. Colored American, Nov. 23, p. 11 and Nov. 30, p. 1., 1901.



they had a spark of manhood, they had to wish its overthrow.

Although he did not expect the race to rush after him, he was convinced that separation was the only solution to the race problem. He also advanced the theory that the original man was black, and the bleaching of the white man during his wanderings had given rise to his hatred and contempt for those who retained the colour God gave them. As a counter to this contempt, he urged the foundation of a racial cultural heritage of literature and pride, higher education for black leaders and practical education for the masses.<sup>199</sup> His vision of Africa both as a refuge for the persecuted and as a symbolic fatherland for the entire race foundered when those migrants who most nearly measured up to his specifications were those who were least enthusiastic to go. Washington directly attacked Turner's counsel of "restlessness and despair", and then the bishop's partial paralysis by a stroke handicapped the movement which had been at best untidy and sporadic. The articulate leaders generally opposed colonization, and the masses lapsed into apathy, while the "DuBois-Washington controversy" consumed the interests and energies of the intellectuals. To compensate for their disinterest and unwillingness to foresake their stake in America, the middle classes sent missionaries and teachers to Africa, and protested against European colonialism; the lower class followed their example, for they shared the aspirations if not the success of the middle class.<sup>200</sup>

The culmination of the "Back-to-Africa" Movement came in 1916, with the advent in America of a bombastic Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, who, while drawing on the ideas and leadership traditions of Afro-Americans,

199. Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky., May 2, 1899; Nashville Banner, Apr. 5, 1900; News, Atlanta, Sept. 29, 1903; Philadelphia North American, May, 1904. Clippings, H.I.

Atlanta Constitution, May 16, 1915. Clipping, H.M.T. Mss. H.U.

200. E.S. Redkey, Black Exodus; Black Nationalists and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910 (New Haven, 1969), pp. 34; 253-4; 270-77; 289-90.

posed a considerable threat to the established racial leadership. Garvey was at the peak of his power in 1920-21, outside the scope of this work, but his ideas and the antagonism they provoked were to a certain extent the consequences of the ideological ferment of the period 1895-1919. Garvey awakened that race consciousness and pride which the Talented Tenth had been trying to instill in the race, making it meaningful for the masses of the race. He claimed to be following the self-help philosophy of Washington, and at first attempted to teach economic solutions to the Negro problem, but his ideas soon expanded to include a nationalistic scheme for the redemption of Africa and the establishment of a Negro merchant marine.<sup>201.</sup> Garvey reflected the fatalism of many blacks who had abandoned hope for justice in a white man's country, while his appeal to individual ego-consciousness, self-magnification, display and psychological release usurped one of the primary attractions of the church.<sup>202.</sup> The use of the technique of the pre-eminent racial institution of the masses combined with the modified views of the élite put Garvey at the head of a mass movement and gave him a degree of financial support never previously paralleled in Afro-American history. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, Garvey's organization, did follow many of the traditional themes of black betterment organizations, and by 1920 it had the largest circulation of all black weeklies in the U.S. in its magazine, the Negro World. Garvey also drew on the researches of Woodson and DuBois into the African heritage; in fact, DuBois was honoured by the U.N.I.A. in Jamaica in 1915,<sup>203.</sup> for his works offered substantial backing to the assumptions of cultural nationalism. He differed from Garvey in believing that inter-racial cooperation would play a major role in the race's struggle

---

201. A.C.Powell, Against The Tide (New York,1938), p.70.

R.Ottley, Black Odyssey (London,1949), p.235.

202. R.J.Bunche, The Programs and Ideologies... Carnegie-Myrdal Research Memorandum.

203. T.G.Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement (Berkeley,1971),p.58.

for liberation. But at a time when DuBois could hardly get his version of Pan-Africanism off the ground, Garvey stirred the popular imagination with his own peculiar version of these theories.<sup>204.</sup>

Garvey led a mass movement, and even those who did not follow him knew about him<sup>205.</sup> no mean achievement compared to the efforts of other leaders. In order to reach this huge following, he fell back on the methods of the demagogues and street-corner orators who had harangued the people of Harlem as the community grew. At first considered only "one of the professional army of race-problem hustlers with which the streets of Harlem were then invested" he quickly became the crowd's favourite entertainer.<sup>206.</sup> The status of the Afro-American made it easy for a crowd movement to be initiated even although the N.A.A.C.P. or N.U.L. had never capitalized on this. The very reason of their programmes alienated them from the crowd,<sup>207.</sup> but the infusion of a new dramatic element and the overthrow of the old restraints of class and culture presented Garvey, Africa and the U.N.I.A. to the mob in terms it not only understood but in which it gloried.

The rise and fall of Garvey form an interesting narrative,<sup>208.</sup> but the nature of the opposition to him reveals more about his leadership methods and his relations with the Talented Tenth. The reaction of

---

204. T.Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism (New York, 1969), pp.50-1.

205. W.P.Dabney, Cincinnati's Colored Citizens (Cincinnati, 1926), p.188. 'A Negro Moses and his Plans for a Black Exodus', Literary Digest, Vol.68 (Mar.19, 1921), pp.48-51.

206. Boston Chronicle, May 23, 1925. Clipping, Schomburg vertical files.

207. E.F.Frazier, 'Garvey, A Mass Leader', Nation (Aug.1926). Clipping, Schomburg vertical files.

208. E.D.Cronon, Black Moses; The Story of Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A. (Madison, 1955).  
Vincent, op.cit.; A.J. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (Kingston, 1963).

the N.A.A.C.P. has been used to support the hypothesis that the black intellectuals considered themselves an élite who were responsible for racial leadership. They preserved their distance from the masses while exhibiting their social concern, and were accused of treating the Garvey movement as a threat to their superior status.<sup>209.</sup> The only professional group to respond to Garvey was the ministry;<sup>210.</sup> not only were they no more sophisticated than their flock, but they were often darker-skinned, and so were not alienated by Garvey's denunciation of mulattoes in the same way as many of the lighter-skinned intellectuals. DuBois largely ignored Garvey until 1920, a tardiness born of ambivalence, and when he did speak out, he was remarkably temperate considering Garvey had been attacking him for a year.<sup>211.</sup> DuBois admitted the Garvey charisma, but claimed he was vocalizing the grievances of the West Indian peasantry, and accredited him with honesty and sincerity, dynamism and the desire to serve, although he predicted that he lacked business sense and an organizational flair, while at the same time he had dictatorial tendencies.<sup>212.</sup> He recognized the racial pride engendered by the efforts of the Black Star Line, although he dreaded that it would fail on account of faulty business practices. Ruefully he admitted that Garvey had popularized ideas not original to him, and enumerated his mistakes as denouncing mulattoes, upsetting Liberia and angering Great Britain.<sup>213.</sup> DuBois was put in the difficult

---

209. W.Record, 'Negro Intellectual Leadership in the N.A.A.C.P., 1910-40', Phylon, Vol.XVII (1956), p.386.

210. W.Record, 'Sociological Theory, Intra-racial Color Differentiation and the Garvey Movement', Journal of Negro Education, Vol.XXV (1956), pp.400-1.

211. E.M.Rudwick, 'DuBois versus Garvey', Journal of Negro Education, Vol.XXVIII (1959), pp.422-3.

212. Crisis, Vol.XXI (Dec. 1920), pp.60-1.

213. Crisis, Vol.XXI (Jan. 1921), pp.112-14.

position of trying to attack Garvey without undermining his ideas, and he also feared that black faith in mass organizations would be irreparably shattered. He claimed that Garvey's only original contribution was the plan to unite Negrodom by a line of steamships, even if it was in pursuit of an "old and pretty thoroughly discredited dream". After a few vitriolic articles on Garvey and his supporters, notably Leroy Bundy, the N.A.A.C.P., who ultimately emerged victorious, declared that they had no enmity against Garvey and his "great and worthy dream".<sup>214.</sup> They denied they had attempted to sabotage the movement, claiming that Garvey sealed his own fate by his threats against the judge, the district attorney, and his critics at his trial.<sup>215.</sup>

Although William Pickens was singled out for honour by the U.N.I.A., he rejected the offer, denouncing the organization because of its "alliance" with the Ku Klux Klan, and because he held fast to his Americanism.

"I believe in Africa for the Africans, white and black, and I believe in America for Americans, native, naturalized, and all colors, and I believe that any of these Americans would be foolish to give up their citizenship here for a thousand-year improbability in Africa or anywhere else."<sup>216.</sup>

Pickens set out to give "Garvey's gang all the legal trouble they are entitled to", and even suggested that Randolph and Owen might liase with Bagnall and himself to that end.<sup>217.</sup> This uncanny combination of left and right lends support to the theory that the traditional leadership feared Garvey, an idea pounced on by the U.N.I.A. who maintained

214. Crisis Vol.XXII, (Sept.1922), p.210.

215. Crisis Vol.XXIV, (Feb.1928), p.51.

216. M.Garvey to W.Pickens, July 10,1922; Pickens to Garvey, July 24, 1922, W.P. Mss. Schomburg.

217. W. Pickens to A.B. Spingarn, Sept.11, Aug.27, 1922. A.B.S. Mss. H.U.



that their critics, especially the N.A.A.C.P., did not have the manhood to match their intellects.<sup>218</sup> Even after he was well and truly deposed, the character assassination continued with the attempt to portray Garvey as an "Uncle Tom" for he had solicited aid from whites in order to get his movement under way, had used a white firm to print the Negro World, despite his espousal of self-help and the easy accessibility of the New York Age press, and he had further used a white publicity man, who had become very distressed at official functions when some members had asked his wife to dance.<sup>219</sup> The very fact that his detractors used such personal invective and abuse rather than make any detailed repudiation of his philosophy invites a closer scrutiny to search for the points of overlap.

The U.N.I.A. claimed to stand for the manhood rights of the race - the slogan of all racial protest organizations - but insisted that the free, independent Negro movement should be controlled and dominated by Negroes. (The arguments were exactly analogous to Trotter's in founding the N.E.S.L.) The U.N.I.A. even visualized itself as an umbrella movement, stating that a minority group, economically dependent on the majority, should make as many friends as possible in that majority, but that organizations training the Negro in self-reliance were the paramount necessity. However it felt its programme was large enough to accommodate all racial organizations under its tutelage, both those under coloured and those under white leadership, allowing all to function without friction or strife. It did not go very far to implement this unity by its denunciation of the N.A.A.C.P. as the social arbiter of the race who determined "who was who".<sup>220</sup> The U.N.I.A's Constitution

---

218. U.N.I.A. Press Release, Jan.1923. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

219. Interstate Tattler, July 12, 26; Aug.2, 9, 1929.

220. Negro World, Feb.24,1923, pp.1 and 4.

which came into effect in July 1918 outlined the scope and vision of the Association's task. Its jurisdiction was to include all communities where blacks were to be found, and its objects were to establish a universal Confraternity among the race; to promote the spirit of pride and love; to reclaim the fallen; to administer to and assist the needy; to assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa; to assist in the development of independent Negro nations and communities; to establish commissaries or agencies in the principal countries and cities of the world for the representation and protection of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality; to promote a conscientious spiritual worship among the native tribes of Africa; to establish Universities, Colleges, Academies and Schools for the racial education and culture of the people; to conduct a world-wide commercial and industrial intercourse for the good of the people; and to work for better conditions in all Negro communities. The remainder of the Constitution was devoted to the conditions for the establishment of branches; the rights, duties and prerogatives of the Association's officers, with the necessary qualifications for such elevation, and the social mores for the Potentate's Court functions. The Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World transferred the injustices complained of so bitterly in America to a world scale, while protesting against the indignities of being black in white America, a protest which in both style and substance was virtually identical to that of all other radical racial organizations, but which was distinguished by its references to European colonialism in Africa and British policy in the West Indies, a legacy of Garvey's personal background. Using the language of the Declaration of Independence, and invoking the justice of the Lord, both traditional in black rhetoric, the Declaration stated unequivocally the belief that blacks were or ought to be free, that the race should have supreme authority in all

things racial, that the Negro should be governed by the ethics of civilization, and therefore entitled to human rights and privileges, that the Negro was entitled to legislative and judicial representatives, to justice in the courts of law and to be represented if taxed. Further, it contended that racial proscription was immoral, that "Negro" should be written with a capital "N" and that the Negro should defend himself against "barbarous practices". Africa was to be free, imperial aggression was condemned, both in itself and as a cause of war, and the Negro was projected as having an inherent right to possess himself of Africa. Atrocities which disgraced Southern civilization were compared to white activities in Africa, while the U.S. penal and educational systems were deprecated for racial injustices. The Declaration expressly protested against segregated districts, separate public conveyances, industrial discrimination, lynchings and limitations on political privileges on account of colour, and reiterated its firm belief in a free press, free speech and freedom of religious worship. It set itself up as the protector of black womanhood, and the rehabilitator of the black image which was being defiled by scandalous films. It deplored any attempts to curtail or prejudice the education of black children and the inculcation of alien ideologies, and the non-admittance to the civil service of black candidates who passed the entrance examinations.

Discrimination in travel was linked to the black man's right of free and unhindered migration, and the right to journey unmolested throughout the world. The Association also demanded the right of the race to choose its own leaders and to control its own social institutions without interference from another race. Limited liberty was equated to a modified slavery, and a protest was lodged on behalf of Negro doctors, who were impeded in the execution of their profession, and

also on behalf of black representatives of foreign governments, who were not always accorded the diplomatic courtesies. It proposed rehabilitation schemes for juvenile offenders and the nullification of the League of Nations, while advocating the implementation of the Golden Rule on a racial or national scale. No race war was to be waged, without permission, unless in self-defence, and no further blacks to be drafted into wars which were alien to the interests of blacks. "Negro History" was to become compulsory for black children, and the U.N.I.A. to be recognized and accredited at international conventions. The freedom of the seas was a demand necessitated by the proposed establishment of commercial intercourse between black people.<sup>221.</sup>

Garvey added a few more personal ideas to these, namely the necessity for action not chance to alleviate suffering and the need for organization to obviate exploitation. Power was central to his ideology, as the only protection against injustice and the guarantor of respect for a race. He espoused education for the masses and the concept of the press as an instrument of public service, and believed that the evolutionary scale would soon register a change in balance to favour the black. As the power holding Africa was human not divine, and as the world could not keep 400 million Negroes down for ever, the liberation of Ethiopia, which he used interchangeably with Africa, was inevitable. Although he let slip his intuition that the whole world was run on bluff, he felt that the race could only be saved by a strong industrial foundation and political independence. The Bible could not solve man's problems, but he nevertheless stressed the need for spiritual issues such as love, honesty, justice, charity, mercy and equality. He damned white philanthropy, and even warned that some must prepare to die in the struggle for liberation. He pictured his race, not as haters, but as lovers of humanity's cause, who would use

---

221. Constitution and Book of Laws of U.N.I.A. & A.C.L. U.N.I.A. Mss. Schomburg.

their physical prowess to preserve humanity and civilization, but he warned the race against imbibing the poison of the worst attitudes of the white man. He advised preparedness for the upward struggle of the race, that it might fully participate in the battle for the survival of the fittest. Finally he admitted that his dream of an African Empire would probably be ushered in by a future generation.<sup>222</sup>

These were the ideas on which the Garvey movement was founded, and in them can be heard the echo of previous generations of black leaders. A federation of racial associations had been proposed and the virtues of organization had been frequently repeated, as one after another black organizations mushroomed then collapsed. Race pride was at the core of the teachings of the A.N.A., the A.S.N.L.H. and the N.S.H.R., while self-help had been preached by both Washington and the Talented Tenth. Garvey acknowledged his intellectual debt to Booker T. Washington on this score. One aspect of the U.N.I.A. which is often overlooked was its emphasis on the racial regeneration of the blacks, without hatred of the white race; this may have been pragmatism, but it may also have been the heritage of the black church's otherworldly teachings. Social uplift by aiding those in need of help and charity to the destitute of the race was reminiscent of the social work agencies like the N.U.L. and the White Rose Mission, and of the fraternal orders. Garvey intended to Christianize Africa in an almost Turnerian sense, but he had a breadth of vision of Pan-African unity that drew on the researches of DuBois, while surpassing them in application. He had internalized the black American's faith in education, and fell back on the traditional rhetoric in defence of black constitutional rights within the U.S. Garvey explicitly condemned separatism,

---

222. E.M. Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions. Vols. I and II (New York, 1968).



but saw that the blacks needed to draw on their own resources if they were to withstand the physical and psychological encroachments of the white man. He was basically a democrat, demanding a minimum of human rights in a democratic and constitutional way, but his demagogic style and overwhelming success encouraged his philosophy to be interpreted by his adversaries in a detrimental way. His demands for better treatment on the American front coincided with those of all the more outspoken leaders of the race. The point of departure came at the thought of going "Back-to-Africa". His ideas for the black man's mission for the redemption of Africa met with the same fate as those of previous emigrationists.

Garvey may not have said much that was new, but he said it in a new and vibrant way. He embodied the new feeling of race pride and independence that seized the black community after World War I, seeing the awakening of nationalistic and racial consciousness all over the world, and foreseeing the American's and the Afro-American's role in the future development of his race.<sup>223</sup> His personal ambition and his disillusion with Moton and DuBois led him to embark on the lonely and perilous paths of leadership, where he was maligned, misinterpreted and misunderstood.

As a postscript it is interesting to notice the boast of a Garveyite:-

"We were the first Fascists...when we had 100,000 disciplined men and were training children, Mussolini was still an unknown. Mussolini copied our Fascism. But the Negroes sabotaged it."<sup>224</sup>

Certainly, like Hitler and Mussolini, his followers were lower-middle class, not the people of the slums but the "black yeomanry" unlearned

---

223. T.H.Talley, 'Marcus Garvey, A Negro Moses', World's Work, Vol.41 (Dec.1921), pp.153-155.

224. Abdul Naseem, 'Black Nationalism', Ms. Schomburg Vertical Files.

but precipient, those with small, struggling businesses like clothes-pressing or barbers' shops, or restaurants, and personal servants.<sup>225</sup> Another superficial parallel was the paramilitary facade of the U.N.I.A. - the uniforms, the parades, and the propaganda. Like Fascism, Garveyism was a mass movement, but it was not a highly organized revolutionary movement. Neither were its values irrational, as so often in European fascism, nor did it plan to overthrow established order. It was not anti-clerical, and anti-monarchialism was irrelevant in the U.S. context. Garveyism was not negative like the doctrines of Hitler and Mussolini - it did not condemn Marxism, socialism, liberalism and democracy, nor did it believe that violence would purify the body politic. In fact, by contrast, it praised pacific policies and was democratic and constitutional in focus and function. It did propagate Nationalism, and flourish in the social disorganization and economic crisis of the immediate postwar period. Yet it was not racist, and in fact sought to uproot racial hatred from black hearts; there was nothing comparable to the racist anti-Semitism which distinguished the Nazis from the fascists. Garveyism was not a revolt against rapid postwar change, but rather an attempt to capitalize on it. It did appeal to those with a grievance, but that American racial grievance antedated the social forces that triggered off European fascism. Neither was it so much a quest for new values as a search for racial values, the glorification and amplification of the pride, self-reliance and self-respect that would redeem and regenerate the Negro race in America, Africa and the rest of the World.

The organization of racial protest associations had led to the coherent expression of black grievances, but not to an agreed policy of

---

225. J.S.Redding, On Being Negro in America (New York,1964), p.21.

racial unity for racial uplift. The choice between "radicalism" or "conservatism" in the racial sense was often dictated by personality and pragmatism as much as by idealism; despite the intensity of the discussion the two approaches were never polar opposites. Many of the Talented Tenth had had at least occasional dealings with Booker T. Washington; the dichotomy between the two factions was more one of emphasis than of fundamentals, and was intimately concerned with intra-racial power struggles. The Talented Tenth belonged to both major political parties, trying to win appointments for themselves and concessions for their race, while some of the intellectuals dabbled in third party politics, in particular with the Socialist party, whose doctrines they tailored to meet racial needs. No leadership group could mobilize without at least the tacit support of the black churches, even if factionalism prevented their coalescence into one inter-denominational force. Only about 10% of the ministry could be enumerated in the Talented Tenth, but as the churches were among the principal agencies of black status adjustment, they could not be ignored. Churchmen, like politicians, subscribed to many and diverse ideologies, among which was emigration. Bishop Turner was indisputably a churchman of Talented Tenth status, yet he failed to interest the elite in his schemes for the redemption of Africa. The climax of the ideological and methodological ferment came with the arrival in the U.S.A. of Marcus Garvey, who usurping the teachings of the Talented Tenth, mobilized the masses in a way they never could. Rejected with a fervent hostility by the majority of the Talented Tenth, he nevertheless wooed and won some to the cause of the U.N.I.A. As in dealing with Booker T. Washington, the Talented Tenth was not united nor had it resolved the questions of strategy and tactics. Rather than formulating an over-all plan, individuals treated each issue on its merits and according to their personal interests, thus creating alignments and re-alignments within the group itself, and occasional concordats with external agencies.

THE BLACK FEMALE INTELLECTUAL

The situation of the black female intellectual deserves special attention, for it is the problem of the black intellectual in microcosm, compounded by the additional burden of sexual discrimination. The black woman intellectual faced a multiple negative; she had first to establish her own femininity, and that of all the women of her race in the climate created by the outrageous assaults on her race and sex; she had to overcome the prejudice not only of the white race but also of the black male, and she had to struggle for the full recognition of her abilities and training.

In slavery, the black female had had the primary function of breeding more slaves, while at the same time being the sexual toy of her white master, even although she performed many other tasks, ranging from domestic duties to arduous physical labour. Denied the sanctions of matrimony, and otherwise unprotected, the "black mammy" was frequently forced to deprive her own man and family.<sup>1.</sup> Following the tradition of Biblical analogy, blacks claimed that they were even more mistreated by this system than the Jews in Egypt, who as slaves to the government and not to individual owners, were permitted to keep their households intact and to cling to their religious and family institutions.<sup>2.</sup> The maltreatment of black women continued after Emancipation, as the attitudes and assumptions fostered under slavery persisted.

---

1. Crisis, Vol.V (1912), p.78.

2. Fulton, A Plea for Social Justice for the Negro Woman, N.S.H.R. Occasional Paper No.2 (1912), p.3.

intimate and enduring in the history of American race relations, it was little discussed, and if it was, then rarely by the black women themselves. Even when The Independent opened its pages to a discussion of the question, its black female contributors remained anonymous. In the South, where the "color of her face alone," was sufficient invitation to the Southern white man,<sup>3</sup> conditions were hard for the reluctant victim who struggled to maintain her virtue and self-respect. On the other hand, those who submitted tamely "lived in clover."<sup>4</sup> Some girls definitely were eager to encourage and maintain such relationships, although middle class women tended to disregard this group, but those who were not had only themselves to depend upon for protection. If their fathers, brothers or husbands sought to redress their wrongs, they were often severely punished, if not lynched, while the offender went free. Compounded with this, the black woman was often assailed by the black male, who ought to have been her natural protector, but who had imbued the white man's values.<sup>5</sup> Out of the rationalization of the use of rape as a weapon of systematic terror, there grew the myth of the "bad" black woman, which was used as a supportive mechanism in the complex system of post-Emancipation sex-race relations.

Both Gerda Lerner and Calvin Hernton have documented the process by which the black woman was dehumanized into a sexual beast. The assumption of differing sexual levels between the races, and the mythifying of greater black sexual potency easily led to the personification of the

---

3. "A Southern Colored Women", 'The Race Problem - An Autobiography', Independent Vol.56 (Mar.1904), p.587.

4. "A Negro Nurse," 'More Slavery at the South; Independent Vol.72 (Jan.1912), p.197.

5. Ibid., pp.199-200.



black woman in terms of freedom and abandon. The belief soon took root that all black girls were eager and voluntary in their relations with white men, and therefore deserving of none of the consideration and respect accorded to white women. To exploit a woman who was by this racist definition a slut was not in any way seen as reprehensible. Laws against intermarriage, the denial of the title "Mrs." or "Miss" to any black woman, taboos against even respectable inter-racial socializing, the refusal to let a black person try on clothes before purchasing, the assigning of single toilet facilities to both sexes of blacks, and the differing legal sanctions against rape or abuse of minors when committed against white and black women were all practices used to reinforce the myths.<sup>6</sup> Before the black female intellectual could lead any kind of public life, she had first to come to terms with this attitude, and answer its charges on her own account, and on behalf of her less articulate sisters.

The black press sympathized half-heartedly with the problem, by publishing such statements as those which claimed that the difficulties of Negro women were "a problem, not of color but of conditions."<sup>7</sup> Sociologists like DuBois were able to relate the problem to its wider context:-

"All womanhood today is hampered because the world on which it is emerging is a world that tries to worship both virgins and mothers, and in the end despises motherhood and despoils virgins."<sup>8</sup>

Exceptional were DuBois who saw the connection between the treatment of women of both races, and who realized the connection between the rights of women and blacks, and A.H. Griaké, who believed that:-

6. G.Lerner, Black Women in White America (New York, 1973), pp.163-4.  
G.Hernton, Sex and Racism (London, 1969), pp.107-113.

7. Pittsburg Courier April 1, 1911, p.3.

8. W.E.B. DuBois, Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (New York, 1920), p.164.

"The natural and beautiful equality of the sexes was perchance the paradise of the past. Its realization in the life of the world will usher in the millenium of the future."<sup>9</sup>.

The more usual attitude of the black male was to follow the example of Jesus, who "treated women respectably, but not seriously, for council as to His labor or His actions."<sup>10</sup> James Weldon Johnson sanctioned sexual inequality in terms of remuneration for equal work, by suggesting to G.A.Towns that they hire a woman music teacher at Atlanta, for while it was possible to hire a first class woman for a modest salary, a man who would accept such an amount would "naturally be inferior."<sup>11</sup> (Admittedly this was an attitude to women current throughout American society, and not confined either to Johnson or to blacks.) In addition to this, Nannie H. Burroughs could claim that:-

"there are men right here in our own race, and their number is legion, who would rather marry a woman for her color than for her character."<sup>12</sup>.

This had two serious effects on coloured women; it led to a concentration on Caucasian aesthetic standards, and it intensified intra-racial colour differentiation.

"If the Negro women would use half the time they spend in trying to get white in trying to get better, the race would move forward apace, but the production of more white Negroes, whether home-made or born that way, that does not bring to the race more character and worth, are unwelcome guests that may be excused at any time."<sup>13</sup>.

Black women did speak out in defence of themselves and their race.

Addie Hunton asserted that:-

9. A.H.Grimké, Equality: The Nation's Best Medicine, Ms., n.d., A.H.G. Mss. H.U.

10. Freeman April 17, 1897, p.4.

11. J.W.Johnson to G.A.Towns, May 5, 1916, G.A.T. Mss. A.U.

12. N.H.Burroughs, 'Not Color, but Character,' Voice of the Negro Vol.1 (July, 1904), p.277.

13. Ibid., p.278.

"There is hardly the daughter of a slave mother who has not heard of the sublime and heroic soul of some maternal ancestor that went home to the God that gave it rather than live a life of enforced infamy."<sup>14</sup> 201.

Fannie Barrier Williams exposed the lechery of the Southern white man, and suggested the coloured woman deserved "greater credit for what she has done and is doing than blame for what she cannot so soon overcome." The same problem with its different sectional manifestations caused her deep trauma.

"I dare not cease to hope and aspire and believe in human love and justice, but progress is painful, and my faith is often strained to the breaking point."<sup>15</sup>.

More poignant was the declaration of "a colored woman, wife and mother" who bemoaned that "A colored woman, however respectable, is lower than a white prostitute."<sup>16</sup> This article, again written for The Independent was an attempt to expose the plight of black women in the South, and the degradation and brutality to which the whole race was subjected.

In reply to an assertion by a Southern white woman that she could not conceive of such a creature as a virtuous coloured woman came the heated response of Sylvanie Francoz Williams. She hotly contended that instead of insult, the white woman should help by sympathy, and aid the educated coloured women who were trying to lift the race "out of the mire of sin" and who were teaching by precept and example the doctrine of race integrity, and so doing more to preserve the purity of the Caucasian race than any laws against miscegenation or for segregation.<sup>17</sup> The concerns

---

14. A.Hunton, 'Black Womanhood Defended,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (July,1904), p.280.

15. F.B.Williams, 'A Northern Negro's Autobiography,' Independent, Vol.57 (July,1904), p.96.

16. Anonymous, Independent, Vol.54 (Sept.1902), pp.2221-2.

17. S.F.Williams, 'The Social Status of the Negro Woman,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (July,1904), pp.298-9.

of the more middle-class black women were expressed by Mary Church Terrell, who told of the discrimination encountered in Washington, DC, - the denial of hotel accommodations and food, despite respectability and the means of payment; Jim-Crow cars; the hostility of the white church; the lack of opportunity for congenial employment commensurate with education and ability, outside of a few teaching posts; the expectation that black women should be menials; segregation or exclusion from theatres and colleges, (except Catholic University), and discrimination by trade unions.<sup>18.</sup>

The burdens imposed on black women were immense; although the black women intellectuals believed in democracy and the democratic processes as much as their male counter-parts, they quickly realized that the exposure of their oppression was not diminishing it. They had also a consciousness of a special mission, which devolved on them by virtue of both sex and race. This was similar in many ways to the mission ideology that the black would redeem America. On the black woman lay the responsibility of:-

"the broadening and deepening of her race, the teaching of youth to grasp present opportunities, and, greater than all, to help clear the moral atmosphere by inculcating a clearer appreciation of the Holy Word and its application to everyday living."<sup>19.</sup>

It was the duty of the female Talented Tenth to develop the highest type of womanhood, upon which depended "the temporal and spiritual salvation of the race." It was incumbent upon these women to reach the hearts and homes of their less fortunate sisters, whom both society and charity ignored, and to teach them cleanliness, industry and refinement.

---

18. M.C.Terrell, 'What it Means to be Colored in the Capital of the U.S.' Independent, Vol.62 (Jan.24,1907), pp.181-6.

19. P. Hopkins, 'Famous Women of the Negro Race', Colored American Magazine (Feb.1902), pp.276-7.



Prior to 1902, this effort was thought to have been a failure because of the black woman's poor conception of her duty, because her religion had not been of the practical, Christ-like kind, and because they had not possessed sufficient love of the wayward, the poor and the criminal. The aristocratic, kid-glove methods had been found wanting; too many church members had "stayed on stilts", refusing to help those in need. This faith as expostulated by Ms. Burroughs was very much 'this-worldly', and she went on to make practical suggestions, namely that centres ought to be provided in the cities where girls could come and spend their evenings, receiving wholesome instruction, reading and writing or taking courses in domestic science, instead of attending "parlor socials" and second-class theatres, loitering about the streets or devoting their time to gossip.<sup>20.</sup>

The educated women obliged themselves to lead exemplary lives, for they considered they formed the highest of three social strata, which were distinctly marked by morals, education and means. They claimed to possess and practise the highest virtues, namely owning their own homes and farms, carrying on independent businesses, and being thrifty, aspiring and progressive.<sup>21.</sup> This was a direct endorsement of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, for as one would expect, they shared the ideological patterns and cleavages of the race as a whole. The importance of the woman in the socialization process, derived from her role of motherhood, was universally acknowledged. Mrs. Washington summed it up:-

---

20. N.H.Burroughs, 'A Clarion Call to Duty,' Colored American, Apr.5,1902, p.2.

21. J.B.Bruce, 'What Education has done for the Colored Woman,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (July,1904), pp.294-5.



"No people can rise above their source - the mothers of the land - and there at the fountain-head must the work begin. The home and family is the starting-point. Since the spirit of the age demands that the mother should have a wide knowledge of all matters pertaining to the moral, spiritual and intellectual training of her children, we women must meet the demands by making our organizations avenues to help to the better way."<sup>22</sup>

The women felt that from their position and role as mothers sprang their duty to elevate and regenerate the race. Ms. Terrell spelt out the philosophy behind "the women's work" in her many articles and speeches. Although testifying to the intrinsic value of knowledge, Ms. Terrell felt it was a better and nobler thing to use it for the benefit of one's fellow man. The aims of the organizations were to promote education and morality by practical and useful means. One of the most serious problems confronting coloured women was their inability to secure employment in the various pursuits for which they were fitted by nature, ability, education and training. With the exceptions of teaching, nursing and sewing, there was almost no work available to the coloured woman no matter how well-educated, skilful or pre-possessing she might have been. However, those who had enjoyed the advantages of education and training were conscientiously studying the problems affecting the race. But Ms. Terrell, despite her privileges and enlightenment, still clung tenaciously to a very traditional concept of womanhood. The prime movers among the black women sought the respect and respectability accorded to white women, rather than full sexual emancipation. Consequently, great emphasis was laid on the role of the woman as homemaker, who, by observing her self, was teaching her children to observe the "lofty principles of justice, liberty, equality of opportunity and equality before the law, upon which this (the American) government was founded" and in which, theoretically,

---

22. Mrs. B.T. Washington, 'Are We Making Good,' Independent, Vol. 84 (Oct. 1915), p. 22.

all Americans believed.

These traditional attitudes to the role of woman as wife and mother, the idea that the home was the most important unit of social regeneration and the prejudice against the black female intellectual on the threefold count of her sex, race and intellect, encouraged individual women and the women's organizations to sponsor the traditionally "female" concerns, such as morality, education, social work and cultural refinements. The conscious attempt to use their skills, training and aptitudes, in a manner comparable to their men, also persuaded the females of the Talented Tenth to concentrate on the feminist issues, although they tried not to neglect the over-all context.

These ideas were conspicuous in the formation of the women's organizations, supreme among which was the National Association of Colored Women (N.A.C.W.). In 1895, under the guidance of Ms. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, the first National Confederation of Colored Women was convened in Boston, while Ms. Margaret Murray Washington founded the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which united 36 women's clubs in 12 states, including Ms. Ruffin's own New Era Club. Other tentative steps had been taken towards national unity under the leadership of the Washington Women's Club, a movement which led to the founding of the National League of Colored Women under the guidance of Ms. Terrell. A brief rivalry was resolved by the unification of the Federation and the League in 1896, when large numbers of affiliates were drawn into the N.A.C.W. The D.C. Auxiliary of the N.A.C.W. reported the formation of seven committees to deal with the various aspects of club work - The Loving Service, Mothers' Meetings, Membership, Literary and Parliamentary,

24.

Home, Social Purity and Press Committees. In another branch the club work was divided into two departments, English Literature and Current Topics, for intellectual development, for the club considered that its object was:-

"to inspire and stimulate its members to teach the highest possible work which will promote the moral and intellectual worth of its members and the society in general." 25.

The Committee on Credentials reported an initial membership of 67 clubs represented by 54 delegates, 26. pulling together women whose views

covered the whole spectrum of racial opinion. Initially their organization was welcomed "for its originality, freedom from politics, and lack of inducements to the selfish and dainty." 27. To the great relief of the black male their "shibboleth is morality. A pure girlhood, a noble intelligent motherhood, a respectful manhood is their goal of their ambition," but more particularly there was no fighting for the ballot, no arguing for "women's rights", no begging for social and political rights, and no clamouring for opportunities, save incidentally. 28. The women's movement had been declared safe.

Ms. Terrell defined the first duty of the N.A.C.W. as its obligation to the children of the race, who were the foundation of the next generation. This involved not only the inculcation of moral values, but the practical provision of kindergartens, day nurseries, and orphanages. However, the aged also needed care; sanatoria, hospitals and training schools for nurses had to be built; fallen girls and women had to be led back to the paths of rectitude and virtue; classes had to be formed to

24. Report of Elizabeth Duffield, 15 Sept. 1897. M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

25. S. Lillian Coleman to President and Women, National Association, 1897. M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

26. New York Times, July 21, 1896, p. 10.

27. Cleveland Gazette, Aug. 8, 1896, p. 1.

28. Ibid.

cultivate the mind, while schools of domestic science were accorded top priority. The race was to be elevated by and through its women, but Ms. Terrell was all too aware both of the need to keep in closer touch with the masses, and of the difficulties of persuading people to avail themselves of the assistance of those who wished to lift them to a higher plane. Health was a matter of deep concern, for in comparison with whites, the death rate of the race was alarming. Ms. Terrell injected elements into the racial attitudes of the N.A.C.W. other than those of morality and social work. She subscribed to the belief that it was necessary to create a "healthful, wholesome public opinion," and to openly condemn lynching, the convict-lease system, the Jim-Crow car laws, and all the other abuses. She advocated agitation with the force of logic, to either convert or shame the oppressor, racial solidarity and self-help in patronizing the race, and finally that upon those with the ability and character to lead should devolve the responsibility of leadership.<sup>29</sup> The women had emerged from docility to make their voices heard on all the issues of the day.

The emphasis within the Association itself was on a middle-class concept of a woman's attributes. Distinguished from other women's organizations because of the "dignity and easy familiarity with parliamentary usage, and an entire absence of self-consciousness," reporters of the Association's meetings still felt obliged to remark that "voices were low and pleasantly modulated," and that dress was "simple, tasteful and quiet even to sombreness." Behind the N.A.C.W. were some of the ideologies found in the N.A.A.L. and N.A.A.C., namely that the body should be both national and non-sectarian, with the avowed purpose of race elevation.<sup>31</sup>

---

29. M.C. Terrell, 'The Duty of the N.A.C.W. to the Race,' A.M.E. Review Vol. 16 (1899-1900), pp. 340-353.

30. Boston Evening Transcript, July 15, 1901. Clipping, H.I.

31. J.S. Yates, 'National Association of Colored Women,' Voice of the Negro, Vol. 1 (July 1904), p. 283.



After the factionalism of 1896, the women were able to coalesce all their racial activities under the guidance of the N.A.C.W., solving the problem of leadership by delegating different duties to as many single individuals as was possible so that no one person became unduly prominent, and having only one organization, in contrast to the men.<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Washington wrote that this organization had arranged the social life "of the superior class of negro women" on rational principles urging them to intelligent service. By 1904 the largest clubs were able to provide free kindergartens, day nurseries, temperance meetings, prison work, social purity, Mothers' Unions and the discussion of live topics. She stressed, in a white periodical, that the women received their friends "in their best attire in tastefully furnished reception rooms," and that the club movement in fact strengthened home life, rather than diverting the woman's attention, because of the concentration on domestic affairs.<sup>33</sup>

By 1908, the resolutions at the biennial convention began by deploring lynching, violence and race riots, and commending patriotism, before going on to discuss rescue work, temperance and uplift, the plight of the black working girl, and the value of the agencies, clubs and organizations working for the same social aims.<sup>34</sup> In 1914, the North-Eastern Federation asked the N.A.C.W. to establish a boycott department for the purpose of instituting boycotts in the cases of discrimination where simple protests were of no avail. Again the order of precedence of the resolutions had changed. The primary concern was the

32. Colored American, April 2, 1904, p.1.

33. Mrs. B.T. Washington, 'The Gain in the Life of Negro Women,' Outlook Vol.76 (Jan.1904), pp.271-4.

34. Proceedings, 6th Convention, N.A.C.W. Aug.24-29,1908, pp.30-31.



election of a black woman to the Committee arranging the Half-Century of Negro Freedom Exposition in Illinois, followed by the vehement endorsement of the Prohibition Amendment, declaring alcohol a "narcotic poison" which was the arch-enemy of home and nation. They wished to change the names of certain clubs, support the National Tuberculosis Movement and to encourage women "to adopt a more sensible and modest attire that will be indicative of all true womanhood." In future the Association planned to devote all its day-time sessions to national topics, such as labour, disfranchisement, equal suffrage, segregation, prohibition and how the clubs could help advance the progress of these great forces. Men were to be urged to be more respectful to the women of their race, and Woman's Suffrage and the work of the N.A.A.C.P. endorsed. A prize of \$100 was offered for a work of real literary merit produced by a black woman, and \$25 prizes for original compositions, vocal and instrumental, were established. The permanent headquarters of the N.A.C.W. was to be established in Washington, D.C, and the Association undertook to co-operate in the effort to lift the mortgage from the Frederick Douglass Home. The Association called for more help to delinquent children, peace in Europe, and the abolition of Jim-Crow cars and segregation. They also intended to appoint an historian to compile a history of the N.A.C.W.<sup>35</sup>. The women were taking positions by this time not just on the issues relevant to their race or sex, but on all the national and international questions of the day.

Originally formed in formal protest against the slanderous accusation that there were no good, pure Negro women, the organization had broadened until by 1915 it had become a clearing house for all the

---

35. Proceedings, 9th Convention, N.A.C.W., Aug.4-7, 1914, pp.36-45.

36. multiplex forms of social uplift, and in 1916 it could 210.  
claim to be the largest organized body of blacks in the country. 37.  
However the Association recognized that 90% of all its potential  
membership was likely to marry, and so it set out to prepare them  
for this vocation. 38. The Frederick Douglass Home was finally redeemed  
in 1922, 39. having become the pet project of Mary B. Talbert, and was a  
concrete achievement in race pride, solidarity and self-help, which  
served notice that the N.A.C.W. was more than a force for the encourage-  
ment of modesty and matrimony, but rather a vibrant, active body  
vitaly concerned with racial issues.

Local clubs and smaller organizations also struggled to ameliorate  
the condition of the black women. The plans of the Women's Industrial  
League, a branch of the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs,  
embraced a system of instruction in useful pursuits for young women,  
procured employment, aided the needy, suggested social reforms, encouraged  
literary research and personal improvement, and aimed overall, "to  
elevate the standard of Afro-American womanhood." 40. In 1898 the Congress  
of Mothers pacified the fears of the male lest his female became  
aggressive and militant in her struggle for her rights and self-respect.

Manifesting the 'true Mother spirit', which was:-

---

36. K.Tillman, 'N.A.C.W.,' A.M.E.Review, Vol.31 (1914-15), p.171.

37. Proceedings, 10th Convention, N.A.C.W., Aug.7-10,1916, p.50.

38. National Association Notes, Vol.XV (Feb.1912), p.4.

39. J.Fauset, 13th Biennial of the N.A.C.W., Crisis, Vol.XXIV  
(Oct,1922), p.257.

40. Baltimore Afro-American, Aug.3,1895, p.1.

"more typical of divine love than any other earthly thing.....the hardness that so often accompanies the 'new woman' was absent."41.

211.

The women considered that by 1904 they had more than proven their ability to organize and stay organized,<sup>42.</sup> but in so doing they

faced many irksome difficulties, not least among which was the embarrassment and discomfort faced when travelling to conventions.

On at least one occasion, F.L.McGhee made a public appeal for funds so that women travelling to the N.F.C.W.C. Convention could circumvent using the Jim-Crow cars.<sup>43.</sup> The activities and conferences of the

women's organizations gained increasing space at least in the black press. Charles Alexander, for example, endorsed the work for higher standards of living and health, giving space in his magazine to Ms Carrie W. Clifford that she might expound her cause.<sup>44.</sup>

The Neighborhood Union was founded in Atlanta, Ga., by women whose lives were centred in the college community, but it soon expanded to include many from the city generally. Starting out as an agency for "servicing the poor" it turned into an instrument of self-help, training women for grass-roots leadership. In 1908 in the absence of any constructive work for social betterment and confronting the difficulties of racial conservatism, "a group of refined and cultured Negro women...on the West side...began to sense the need of a more intense and highly developed home-life." (The West Side was the area around Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges.) The Constitution stated the aim of the Neighborhood Union as Social Settlement work, which was to be organized as follows:- the whole city was divided into zones, zones into neighbourhoods, and neighbourhoods into districts which were in the charge of a

---

41. Colored American, June 4, 1896, p.2.

42. F.B.Williams, 'The Club Movement Among Colored Women,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (Mar.1904), p.99.

43. Chicago Broadax, April 16, 1904, p.1.

44. Alexander's Magazine, Vol.1 (Aug.1905), pp.7-13.

Director. The object of the organization was the moral, social, intellectual and religious uplift of the community, by the establishment of lecture courses that instructed and helped mothers in the proper care of themselves and their infants, impressed upon them the importance of fresh air, light and cleanliness in the home. Clubs and branches were to be formed, and efforts to break up dens of immorality united with those of the law of the land to suppress crime and vice. Wholesome thought and action was to be encouraged by the dissemination of good literature among the young, the habits of industry and thrift encouraged by the establishment of clubs for cooking, sewing, millinery, manual training and general homemaking, and facilities for harmless and beneficial sports and games to be provided for the young. Finally it was suggested to take a full census of the community.<sup>45.</sup>

In 1908 the women were able to persuade the administration of Morehouse College to allow the use of part of its grounds for a playground, and they provided volunteers to supervise the children, until the city provided play space. Annually, the N.U. sponsored July 4th celebrations, neighbourhood improvement campaigns, organized gardening and clean-up campaigns, summer vacation Bible schools, and participated in Associated Charities, anti-Tuberculosis and Red Cross campaigns. A survey of the public schools, 1912-13, led to a petition and political pressure to enforce school improvements, and in 1915 a Health Centre offering a clinic and advice was established. Between 1917 and 1921 a Home Investigation Committee undertook a housing survey and improvement campaign, which resulted in forty houses being repaired, two streets paved and twelve improved, street lighting and improved sanitation.<sup>46.</sup>

---

45. Constitution of Neighborhood Union. N.U. Mss. A.U.

46. Annual Reports, N.U. Mss. A.U.

The emphasis in New York, as in Atlanta, was on "doing".

The feeling was strong among New York women that they were their sisters' keepers, and that they themselves should be instrumental in removing many of the proscriptions in evidence against them. They apparently had grasped the strength that comes from union, and preferred to spend their lives in service rather than on the more trivial pleasures. They saw themselves as constituting the moral, mental and intellectual derricks of the race for the uplift of womanhood, appreciating that the race could not rise in sections, but had to rise as a whole.<sup>47</sup> In 1912, at the N.F.C.W.C. Conference at Hampton Institute every state in the Union where coloured people lived was represented except Georgia,<sup>48</sup> although there were active clubs in that state, and by 1914 a total of over 700 clubs were represented.<sup>49</sup> The women also had ladies' literary clubs, like the Chautauqua Circle. Although it only consisted of 15 ladies, its interests ranged from literary and musical activities to discussion of suffrage and legal rights, conditions in Mexico and Africa, the tariff, and questions of social work.<sup>50</sup> Women quickly developed sororities confined exclusively to college women, but subscribing to the same ideals as the community clubs.

Women also played an important role in the general racial organizations; although barred by the A.N.A. they were specifically included in the N.A.A.C. committees, admitted to the Niagara Movement in 1906, and were involved in the N.A.A.C.P. from its inception.<sup>51</sup> The U.N.I.A. also

47. Pittsburg Courier, Jan.6,1912, p.1.

48. New York Age, Aug.8,1912, p.4.

49. Crisis, Vol. VII (Oct.1914), p.285.

50. Constitution, Nov.25,1913; Year Book,1913/4, 1915/6, Chautauqua Circle Collection, A.U.

51. Please see Chapter IV.



campaigned to interest prominent women members of the race in joining it.<sup>52.</sup> They were included in the inter-racial organizations; although spurned by white women on account of their alleged immorality, black women were able to appeal to a common bond, that of sisterhood and motherhood. By encouraging sympathetic feeling on specifically "womanly" issues, and by supporting the moral and political concerns of white women temperance and suffrage campaigners, black women hoped that they might be able to establish an inter-racial bridgehead. Encouraged and inspired by two white women, Jane Addams and Florence Kelley, black womanhood was not daunted by accusations such as that of Ms. Celia Parker Woolley that "colored women lacked executive ability and were incapable of leading."<sup>53.</sup>

Inter-racial activities on a national scale were determined largely by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which by 1900 claimed to have risen above denominational and sectarian rivalries, and believed itself to be playing a key part in sectional reconciliation. Although Southern women were in a minority, they represented that conservative womanhood that the Federation's leaders were most eager to reach. Not only did the race issue therefore impinge upon the member's own prejudices, but it also jeopardized the Federation's harmonizing and conciliatory function. It sacrificed the handful of black women to its larger mission - sectional, not racial, reconciliation - symbolized in its refusal to seat Ms. Ruffin in 1900.<sup>54.</sup> Such a position not only forced the black women to organize their own organizations, but

52. I.M. Blackson to M.C. Terrell, Sept. 25, 1917, M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

53. Chicago Broadax, July 7, 1906, p.1.

54. W.L.O'Neill, The Women Movement: Feminism in the U.S. and England (London, 1969), p.51.

also spurred women like Ms. Terrell to publicize in lectures her work, in order to present coloured women in a more favourable light to white people.<sup>55</sup> In 1903 the Chicago Women's Club carried through a three-day programme, based on the methods of the Hampton, Tuskegee and Atlanta Conferences, on "Women in Modern Industrialism". Analysing the difficulties of women and work, the Conference made positive recommendations principally on solving "the servant girl problem," domestic science education, and women in trade unions. The injustice shown to blacks was linked to the problems faced by whites of oppressive hours, inadequate wages, insanitary conditions of employment and many other inequalities crystallized into law and custom. However a prevailing optimism suggested that "largesse of soul and breadth of conception" would dissipate all the wrongs in the very near future.<sup>56</sup> The N.A.A.C.P. and the Constitution League were both inter-racial,<sup>57</sup> but from the woman's point of view perhaps the climax to inter-racial activity came with the formation of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation.

Although R.R.Moton claimed that it was a movement born in the South, sponsored and directed by Southern men, and that it was neither revolutionary nor radical,<sup>58</sup> it had an immediate and important impact on black women. After the War many of the leaders of Southern white women were in a mood reasonably receptive to the consideration of inter-racial work, but it was still generally unpopular with the rank-and-file. Reactions ranged from indifference to antagonism. In 1920 the Biennial Session of the Colored Women's Clubs was held in Tuskegee, Ala., where two white women, Ms. Johnson and Ms. Haskins, were invited as observers,

---

55. M.C.Terrell to R.H.Terrell, Aug.18,1900, R.H.T. Mss. L.C.

56. F.B.Williams, 'An Extension of the Conference Spirit,' Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (July,1904), pp.300-03.

57. Please see Chapter 7.

58. R.R.Moton, 'An Inter-racial Commission at Work,' Outlook, Vol.129 (Sept.1921), p.60.

the former of whom was obliged to record that although she had lived all her life in the South, she had never appreciated the existence of coloured women of education, culture and refinement.<sup>59.</sup>

Ten Southern black women were requested to remain another day to confer with these two whites - namely Janie Porter Barrett, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, M.L. Crosthwaite, Mrs. Hope, Lucy Laney, Mary J. McCrorey, Mrs. Moton, Margaret Murray Washington and Marion B. Wilkinson. (5 educators, 3 wives of educators and 2 social workers). Both groups were reported as ill at ease; the white women because they did not know how to approach the black women, who in turn constantly suspected that the white women were going to ask them where they could get good servants. However the white women were willing to accept a document in which their attention was drawn to the plight of their black sisters. The sources of discord were in conditions in domestic service, child welfare, conditions of travel, education, lynching, suffrage and the white press, but in all cases reasonable recommendations were made to rectify these.<sup>60.</sup> This preliminary step led to the invitation to Mrs. Moton, Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Haynes and Miss Brown from the white Southern club women to attend their convention at Memphis -- an unprecedented move towards inter-racial harmony. This was followed up in 1921 by women's inter-racial conferences in Louisiana and Kentucky.<sup>61.</sup> Black women poets and novelists also tried to present an image of refined, sensitive black womanhood - Georgia Douglas Johnson in her volumes The Heart of a Woman and Autumn Love Cycle and Jessie Fauset and

---

59. Historical File, C.I.C. Mss. A.U.

60. Ibid.

61. Crisis, Vol. XXI (April, 1921), p. 249.

Nella Larsen, who set out to reveal the "genteel" side of black society.

But women engaged in racial activities outside the scope of club work. Mary Church Terrell in 1895 had become one of the first two women, and the first ever black woman, to be appointed to the District of Columbia school board, on which she served without pay. She lectured to whites, trying to allay their fears of inter-marriage and attempting to create public sentiment on behalf of her race, while acquainting the public with the facts.<sup>62</sup> (Her claim in her Autobiography that she did not use the lecture platform as a source of income is not borne out by Oswald Garrison Villard, who complained that she constantly bothered him, using the N.A.A.C.P. as a lecture bureau to advance herself.)<sup>63</sup> However she never became a professional race leader, nor did she develop a specialized area of concern. She did however resign from war-time government service on account of the treatment accorded to black women.<sup>64</sup>

Nannie Burroughs was another whose activities centred on Washington. A prolific columnist in the black press and active member of the N.A.C.W. and N.A.A.C.P., she founded the National Training School for girls, the only school financed entirely by black contributions, whose purpose was to give girls "a practical education....that will make them useful, industrious and good servants, as well as teachers, musicians, clerks and stenographers."<sup>65</sup>

The honour role of school founders and educators must include Lucy Laney (Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Ga.)

62. G.B. Sheppard, Mary Church Terrell: Respectable Person (Baltimore, 1959), p. 26.

M.C. Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World. (Washington, 1940), p. 140. 185.

63. O.G. Villard to F.J. Garrison, Dec. 11, 1911. O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

64. M.C. Terrell, op.cit., pp. 250-259.

65. Columbus State Journal, Sept. 20, 19? Clipping, H.I.



Charlotte Hawkins Brown (Palmer Memorial Institute, N.C.)

and Anna J. Cooper (Principal, 'M' Street High School for Negroes, Washington, DC), but perhaps the most legendary of them all is Mary McLeod Bethune, who founded a "college on a garbage dump" at Daytona Beach, Fla. The school was set up in 1904 on "\$1.50 and faith,"<sup>66</sup> but little remains in the Bethune-Cookman Archives of Ms. Bethune's activities prior to 1923, for she was preoccupied with the necessities of fund-raising and administration.<sup>67</sup>

Some women answered the call of social work in a professional sense, like Eva Bowles, who was the first black woman on the staff of the Y.W.C.A. when she was assigned to the Harlem Branch in 1905, following the first accredited Negro social worker, Jessie Sleet, in social work in New York City. The N.U.L. was also instrumental in encouraging black women to become social workers,<sup>68</sup> and New York was further the scene of many pioneering activities in social settlement houses. Victoria Earle Matthews started the White Rose Mission as a social centre for Negro migrants in 1897, where she conducted programmes to orientate rural girls to the ways of the big city.<sup>69</sup> Ms. A.S. Reed raised \$2,000 towards maintaining a home for delinquent girls in New York,<sup>70</sup> but few followed the example of Frances J. Gaudet who chose to do mission work among black prisoners in the South,<sup>71</sup> (although the N.A.A.C.P. did protest the use of women in chain gangs in New Orleans in 1917).<sup>72</sup>

66. Baltimore Afro-American, June 8, 1935, Clipping, J.W.J. Coll. Yale.

67. R. Holt, Mary McLeod Bethune (New York, 1964), p. 110.

68. Opportunity, Vol. 1 (Mar. 1923), pp. 8-10.

69. E. L. Thornborough, Timothy Thomas Fortune. Militant Journalist (Chicago, 1972), p. 126.

70. New York Age, July 25, 1912 p. 4.

71. F. J. Gaudet, He Leadeth Me (1913), p. 2.

72. African Times and Orient Review, Vol. 1V, (Jan. 1917), p. 13.



Madame C.J. Walker made a vast fortune in business from cosmetic preparations designed especially to help black women achieve white standards, while her name-sake, Maggie L. Walker became the first black lady president of a bank. As head of the Order of St. Luke, she established the St. Luke educational loan fund, designed to aid black children who desired an education. She elevated the Order of St. Luke from a small, struggling insurance society to one covering 24 states, while she was organizer and president of the Council of Colored Women, a trustee of the National Training School, a director of the N.A.A.C.P., a board member of the N.U.L., N.O.S.Va., and the Virginia Inter-racial Committee, and on the school board of several Virginia schools.<sup>73</sup> Carlotta Bass edited the California Eagle for over 40 years, but the truly outstanding female black journalist of this period was Ida B. Wells-Barnett, an outspoken radical and militant opponent of lynching on both sides of the Atlantic. Often unsupported in her anti-lynching crusade, she battled on in Chicago after she was run out of Memphis. In addition to her newspaper and organizational activity, she also became a probation officer, hoping in that way to gain further insight into the conditions behind black crime, and to help delinquents if she could.<sup>74</sup>

The crucial issue in the debate on women's rights was inevitably female suffrage. T.T. Fortune had always defended the entitlement of the female to equal rights and responsibilities,<sup>75</sup> both because of her

73. Richmond News Leader, Dec. 1934. J.W.J. Scrapbook, Yale.

74. A. Duster, ed., The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago, 1972). I.B. Wells-Barnett to J.E. Spingarn, July 29, 1913. J.E.S. Mss. H.U. Mrs. Wells' anti-lynching campaigns are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

75. E.L. Thornborough, op.cit., p. 127.

ability and education, and because she needed the protection of the laws so much. Despite its earlier jibes about not taking women too seriously, by 1905 the Freeman had come to consider that women were entitled to the same rights as men,<sup>76.</sup> but not all black men had yet seen the light. Incredibly in 1916, Roscoe C. Bruce admitted that he regarded the woman suffrage propaganda as a "systematic joke."<sup>77.</sup> The treatment meted out to white women marchers in the 1913 suffrage parade in New York by white men aroused sympathy for the cause among many black men, who winced at the indignities endured by the marchers,<sup>78.</sup> and it soon became the clarion call of the Crisis that every black should fight for the new democracy that knew neither sex nor race.<sup>79.</sup> Votes for women were indissolubly connected with Negro suffrage, or such would seem to have been the unanimous opinion in favour of female suffrage in a 1915 N.A.A.C.P. symposium, to which 15 women and 11 men contributed.<sup>80.</sup> Even on this issue racial unity could still not be secured. Kelly Miller suggested that allowing women to vote might jeopardize family relations, and that women as "the weaker sex" had no place in politics, which was a game of force.<sup>81.</sup> He conceded that suffrage ought to be granted to widows or hopeless spinsters, but felt that it ought to be excluded from normal relations.<sup>82.</sup> He undermined the analogy and carefully constructed case built up for black and female suffrage, by using about women the very arguments the white South used about blacks - that the oppressor had the best interests of the oppressed at heart. Fortunately Miller was never dynamic nor effective in terms of constructive leadership, and was unable

---

76. Freeman, Sept. 9, 1905, p.4.

77. R.C. Bruce to M.C. Terrell, April 14, 1910. M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

78. Crisis, Vol. V (April 1913), p.289.

79. Crisis, Vol. VI (May 1913), p.29.

80. Crisis, Vol. IX (April 1915), p.285.

81. Crisis, Vol. X (Aug. 1915), pp.178-192.

82. Crisis, Vol. XI (Nov. 1915), p.37.

to stem the tide of progress.

The Messenger championed the woman's cause as part of the sweep of democracy,<sup>83.</sup> and in 1918 75,000 coloured women became voters in New York State.<sup>84.</sup> Little thanks for this was due to white female suffragists, who frequently compromised with the Southern conservatives, to the detriment both of the Negro and the radical South.<sup>85.</sup> The N.A.A.C.P. campaigned vigorously to retain the original Susan B. Anthony Amendment, rather than admit any deviation from this text which would put within the power of the individual states the enforcement of this amendment,<sup>86.</sup> for it feared the actions of the Southern states. Woman suffrage became a reality, and although in the Southern states women faced all the restrictions on suffrage imposed upon their men, in 1920 it was estimated that by the next election there would be 3 million black women, informed, registered, taxes paid and ready to vote.<sup>87.</sup>

The leadership role of the black female intellectual was therefore even more practical than that of her male counterpart, as she participated in racial organizations, performing the social service and charitable functions traditionally associated with women, whatever their race. The victim of multiple prejudices, the female Talented Tenth defended the honour and reputation of black womanhood, while attempting themselves to display such exemplary moral conduct that the ugly insults so often hurled at black women would appear without foundation. They regarded themselves as central to the work of social uplift on account of the primacy of the home and family as the units of racial regeneration

83. Messenger, Vol. 1 (Nov.1917), p.6.

84. Crisis, Vol.XVII (Dec.1918), p.62.

85. M.W.Ovington to V.Milholland, April 8,1919. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

86. J.R.Shillady to Mrs. C.C.Catt, April 9,1919. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

87. Crisis, Vol.XIX (April,1920), p.234.

for their philosophy was geared to accord with traditional attitudes to a woman's role as wife and mother. The range of club work encompassed both moral and social issues, with some of the most important emphasis placed on the education and training of young girls. Many of the women's organizations provided a wide range of social services, all designed to facilitate the uplift of the race. The women did dabble in inter-racial work, but their achievements in that field were secondary to their intra-racial activities. Many individual women stand out prominently in their own spheres, but the over-riding achievement of the women was organizational, for they achieved an organizational harmony and ideological unity that the race as a whole tried to emulate but was unable to equal.

THE TALENTED TENTH AND THEIR WHITE SYMPATHIZERS

The relationships with whites into which the Talented Tenth entered were precipitated more by organizational than by social contacts. The most successful inter-racial movements in this period prior to the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, (C.I.C.),<sup>1.</sup> were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, (N.A.A.C.P.), the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, (N.U.L.), and the Negro Organization Society of Virginia, (N.O.S.Va.), although preliminary steps had been taken by the Constitutional League and the Cosmopolitan Club. The latter was founded in the summer of 1906,<sup>2.</sup> working on the principle that only when white and coloured met "on the high plane of endeavour" could the problem be settled.<sup>3.</sup> The very social nature of the club led it into difficulties from the start. A dinner held in New York in 1908, at which members "suffered the notoriety of pioneers" led to an outcry in the white press that white women were associating with coloured men.<sup>4.</sup> This hysterical reaction did much harm both to the movement itself and to eminent white female members like Mary White Ovington, who for some time afterwards was obliged to have a male relative open her mail, so obscene were its contents.<sup>5.</sup>

---

1. Please see Chapter 6.

2. M.W.Ovington to O.G.Villard, Oct.8, 1906.O.G.V. Mss. Houghton

3. M.W.Ovington, 'Reminiscences', Baltimore Afro-American, Feb.11,1933. Clipping, J.W.J. Memorial Collection, Yale.

4. Ibid., Oct.22,1932.

5. W.E.B.DuBois to J.F.Morton,Jnr. June 1,1908. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.



The Constitutional League engendered less notoriety and performed a less vague function. Founded by the Irish-American John E. Milholland in 1904, the Constitutional League, incorporated in New York, grew out of the Union League, "the most excellent Republican institution in the country." It embarked on systematic agitation against racial bigotry and class legislation, in its task of awakening the nation to a sense of its duty to preserve its democratic ideals.<sup>6</sup> Despite inter-racial meetings at Cooper Union,<sup>7</sup> and the allegedly parallel activities of the League with those of the Niagara Movement in raising the voice of protest against the intolerable southern conditions of suffrage and in finding the just way of protest between "the Scylla of intemperate noisy vituperation and the Charybdis of fulsome abasement and abject surrender,"<sup>8</sup> there was some black opposition raised reluctantly against the efforts of the League. The Age recognized the genuine ardour of the League for black rights, but it was strongly opposed to, and even afraid of, the League's demands for the reduction of Southern representation in Congress.<sup>9</sup> The Bookerites also accused the League of trying to secure 'Lily-white' support from the South,<sup>10</sup> but were reassured to learn in 1911 that the Constitutional League and the N.A.A.C.P. were not going to coalesce as originally planned.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the League waged a persistent and determined struggle to free the Brownsville soldiers; it in fact spearheaded the campaign.

---

6. The Voice (May, 1907), p. 161.

7. Voice of the Negro, Vol. III (April, 1906), p. 239.

8. The Moon, (Mar. 17, 1906), p. 5.

9. New York Age, Feb. 8, 1906, p. 2.

10. B.T. Washington to Whitefield McKinley, Feb. 22, 1908. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

11. O.G. Villard to B.T. Washington, Jan. 19, 1911. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

These earlier meetings were overshadowed in 1909 by the calling of the National Negro Conference in New York City. Exposed to the recurrent criticism that they were interfering with black leadership, and foisting unwanted persons upon the race, the whites involved seemingly failed to appreciate that they had undertaken "the work of generations."<sup>12.</sup> By 1909, Oswald Garrison Villard had grown impatient with Booker T. Washington's conservatism and monopoly of power, but his consciousness of it forced him to try to obtain Washington's endorsement for his plans. Although he did not really want Washington involved, he was frightened that the Tuskegee Machine would try to hinder the new movement. Echoing these sentiments, DuBois deliberately tried to avoid an 'anti-Washington' label.<sup>13.</sup> Villard's attitude to the Conference is revealing, and indicative of the nature of white liberalism. He bemoaned that all the speeches from the floor were by coloured people, of which few were relevant and none valuable; he conceded that DuBois was useful, "his attitude and bearing were faultless, and his spirit of the best," although he thought that Trotter and Waldron had behaved "very badly." The Washingtonians had not attended, and Villard was delighted to have defeated a proposal to appoint a committee, for that might have kept them in session all night. More an autocrat than a democrat, Villard was never able to understand why others disagreed with him, especially blacks on racial questions. He found the whole process of working with blacks instead of just for them "trying," although he did appreciate that their past experience with whites inevitably bred

---

12. New York Age, June 10, 1909, p.4; May 19, 1909, p.5.

13. E.M. Rudwick, 'The National Negro Conference of 1909' Phylon, Vol.XVIII (1956-57), pp.413-5.

suspicion in blacks. Villard also appreciated that this whole inter-racial venture was handicapped by the intra-racial situation, for Washington's prowess was apparently so pervasive that without his endorsement neither blacks nor whites were prepared to give money to the new movement, and Washington was not prepared to commit himself until he was absolutely sure that the whole thing was not controlled by Trotter and DuBois.<sup>15</sup>

Villard showed how he viewed the proceedings when he claimed that the coloured people had dominated them, for of the 24 addresses only 8 were made by blacks,<sup>16</sup> and all the speeches were recorded as "scientific" rather than "polemic".<sup>17</sup> The Resolutions set out in unemotional language a denunciation of the oppression of coloured fellow citizens, which was seen as ultimately endangering the economic position of the poor whites. The answer lay in enlightening the prejudiced, educating the Negro to economic and industrial competence, and demanding equality before the law. A resolution proposed by Trotter to condemn lynching was defeated by 53 votes to 21; the tenour and substance of the Conference's pronouncements were much less radical than those of the more adventurous of the all-black organizations. A committee of Forty was named to bring about a permanent organization, of whom approximately one quarter were black.<sup>18</sup> DuBois perceptively summarized white reactions to this enterprise. He pointed

---

14. O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, June 4, 1909. O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

15. O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, June 7; Nov. 15, 1909. O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

16. Proceedings of the National Negro Conference, 1909

17. Ibid., p. 71.

18. Ibid., pp. 222-225.

out that calling certain types of blacks names, like "radical" or "jealous" neither answered their arguments nor disproved the righteousness of their cause. Many were also afraid lest they unleash the tides of bitterness and passion, which might be uncontrollable and defeat the ends of human betterment. Although certain blacks were conspicuous by their absence, those who did attend all meant much "within the Veil," even if they were less known beyond it.<sup>19</sup> It was important to introduce intra-racial leaders to whites if there was to be inter-racial success. The aim of the Conference was to find a practical path amid the intense feeling, divergent views, bitter radicalism and impractical dreaming, and to this end it set in motion the machinery which involved into the N.A.A.C.P.

To recount the history of the first decade of the N.A.A.C.P.'s existence would be to repeat much comprehensive historiography,<sup>20</sup> but a brief sketch of its development prior to 1919 is helpful. "Born in a little room in a New York apartment" with Mary White Ovington, William English Walling and Henry Moskowitz, within a year the organization, although hampered by lack of funds, had held four mass meetings, distributed thousands of pamphlets, and numbered its membership in hundreds. DuBois was the only black elected to be an officer in 1910, as Director of Publicity and Research. Founded and organized by whites, it nevertheless made an effort to be inter-racial by including eight former members of the Niagara Movement on its Board of Directors.<sup>21</sup> Thanks to Villard

---

19. W.E.B. DuBois, 'National Committee on the Negro,' Survey, Vol. 22 (June, 12, 1909), pp. 407-9.

20. C.F. Kellogg, The N.A.A.C.P. (Vol. 1, Baltimore 1967).

B.J. Ross, Joel E. Spingarn and the Rise of the N.A.A.C.P. 1911-1939 (New York, 1972).

R.L. Jack History of the N.A.A.C.P. (Boston, 1943).

L. Hughes, Fight for Freedom; The Story of the N.A.A.C.P. (New York, 1962)

M.W. Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down (New York, 1947)

How the N.A.A.C.P. Began (Pamphlet, 1914).

21. M.W. Ovington, How the N.A.A.C.P. Began



the Association secured a rent-free office in the Evening Post building in Vesey Street,<sup>22.</sup> where at first it concentrated on publications and publicity.<sup>23.</sup> In 1910 the Association succeeded in commuting the death sentence on Pink Franklin to life imprisonment, and participated in the cases of Thomas Williams and Steve Green. In 1911, after the Coatesville atrocity, an anti-lynching fund was started, and the pattern of meetings, legal cases and publicity continued. The average monthly circulation of Crisis grew from 1,750 for the first issue, to 9,000 the following year, and was to reach 104,000 at the height of its influence in 1919. 3 branches were established, in Boston, Chicago and New York, which swelled to 165 in 1918, of which 69 were in the South, after the war-time membership explosion.<sup>24.</sup> Legal action was the essential strategy because of lack of political or economic power, and the principal objective in this formative period was to secure full citizenship rights for blacks through militant but non-violent action. A conscious identification was made with the old anti-slavery movement:-

"Some 'new abolitionism' must free the American Negro from the chains which would perpetually shackle his mind, his spirit and his soul."<sup>25.</sup>

This served not only a valuable psychological function, but re-established the cause of the Negro in the general currents of reform from which it had come adrift, and was important until 1919, after

22. Hughes, op.cit., p.23.

23. See Appendix V.

24. M.M.Ovington A Short History of the N.A.A.C.P. Jack, op.cit., pp.7-11.  
J.A.Morsell, 'The N.A.A.C.P. and its Strategy', Annals of the American Academy of Political Social and Science Vol.357 (1965), pp.98-100.

25. W.Pickens, The New Negro, (New York,1916), p.58.



which date white influence began to wane. Due to the efforts of James Weldon Johnson, branches in the Far West opened up, and for the first time membership in the South outnumbered that in the North, while virtually all the black press lined up behind the N.A.A.C.P. (except the committed organs of other movements), even the New York Age.<sup>26.</sup>

W.P.Dabney recorded that in the early days the Cincinnati branch had a large and loyal following, whose interest gradually died away. He ascribed this to a lack of constant stimulus, and the fact that the fight for rights and against race abuses generally only appealed to those who realized the value of such action.<sup>27.</sup> The organization's response to this problem is illustrative of their attitudes to leadership. In 1915, May Childs Nerney, the Secretary reported that despite the vitality of the work, there was an undeniable increase in prejudice and discrimination. In cities with large numbers of Southern coloured migrants "the feeling for the propaganda of the N.A.A.C.P. runs the gamut from indifference and incredulity to open hostility." In the Mid-West whites were generally more friendly than in the East, but were being influenced both by the fact of the huge numbers of migrants, and by the attitude of coloured people, who allegedly wanted segregation because of the economic opportunity they believed came with it, and who did not object to discrimination as the N.A.A.C.P. claimed. She realized that whites had come to regard the use of legal measures as impractical save in a few spectacular instances, and that blacks were more interested

26. Kellogg, op.cit., pp.291-3.

Reports of Field Secretary, Minutes, Board of Directors, 1916-19  
N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

27. W.P.Dabney, Cincinnati's Colored Citizens (Cincinnati, 1926), p.183.

in economic opportunities than legal disabilities. The organization could not be kept alive without encroaching on the socio-economic field and laying down a definite and practical programme for the branches.<sup>28</sup> Joel E. Spingarn, the Chairman, recognized that the problem was national rather than sectional in character, and that the cause was generally unpopular, even if it was "a monument to the nobility and practical energy of American idealism."<sup>29</sup>

One difficulty besetting the Association was the assumption of many coloured people that the Association would secure for them whatever they desired. The N.A.A.C.P. was not, nor could it compete with, the legal advice bureaux or philanthropic organizations, and agreed in 1916 that it would only accept cases that showed actual discrimination because of colour, or which concerned broad principles, like the grandfather clause, the segregation cases and the Jim-Crow car case.<sup>30</sup> In addition was the almost insuperable difficulty that the work was about something intangible; it was difficult to run a lecture bureau with volunteer speakers who were often not given funds for travelling expenses, while the unpopularity of the cause made it difficult to secure big names. White people were normally ignorant of or hostile to the organization's programme, whereas Crisis did not reach the masses of coloured people, to whom "Civil rights Democracy and the New Abolition" were only phrases.

"They do not speak our language. By the very nature of our problem, therefore, for a longtime to come we cannot hope for any material results, and certainly not for anything spectacular unless some great crisis should arise."<sup>31</sup>

28. Minutes, Board of Directors, Dec.6, 1915. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

29. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Jan.3,1916.N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

30. Chairman's Report, Annual Meeting, Jan.3,1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

31. Secretary's Report, Jan.3,1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

It was difficult to sustain interest in the local organizations when no fight was on, and with no ritual or routine, and sometimes even no meetings, to rectify this might have meant the deflection of forces from the main purposes of the organization, which was to secure and to maintain the Negro's manhood and citizenship rights.<sup>32.</sup>

These problems affected inter-racial harmony. The first National President, Moorfield Storey, was not so intimately concerned with face-to-face inter-racial contact as many of his colleagues, and for him the N.A.A.C.P. was not of paramount importance in his life. He cannot really be considered a twentieth century liberal, and although his racial outlook differed little from that of Villard and Ovington, one biographer traced it to the influence of Charles Sumner rather than to a philosophy of general liberalism. Storey had been among the first of the anti-imperialists to see a connection between the denial of consent in the Pacific and the denial of consent in the South; he had fought on behalf of William Lewis in the American Bar Association and against discrimination at Harvard; and he sympathized with both sides in the controversy among black leaders.<sup>33.</sup>

Both Oswald Garrison Villard and Mary White Ovington felt an automatic compassion for the outcasts of society, combining the twentieth century liberalism of their environment with the nineteenth century reform, which came from their childhood memories of abolition. Most

---

32. Field Secretary's Report, Minutes, Board of Directors, July 9, 1917. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

33. W.B. Hixon, Jr., Moorfield Storey and the Abolitionist Tradition (New York, 1972), pp. 98-124.

whites who sponsored the N.A.A.C.P. were socialists, even if like Ms. Ovington they considered that the Negro was not yet ready to belong to such a movement. Generalizing from her own experience, Ms. Ovington concluded that every white person who attended the first N.A.A.C.P. Conference was sympathetic, but that most expected to meet "belated people who would primarily arouse their pity. Instead they met men and women who primarily aroused their admiration."<sup>34</sup> Confiding in Villard, she took her patronizing attitude a stage further:-

"I find myself still occasionally forgetting that Negroes aren't poor people for whom I must kindly do something, and then comes a gathering such as that last evening when I learn that they are men with most forceful opinions of their own."<sup>35</sup>

Despite these revelations of black autonomy, Ms. Ovington continued to feel she was indispensable to the Negro's cause, while at the same time advocating the cause of black self-regeneration. Realizing the dangers of their organization being "snuffed out" during wartime, she stressed that the black must maintain the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P.<sup>36</sup> Mixed with genuine liberalism, the constant surprise that the coloured people should not only have their own opinions but should also act on them in spite of white liberal disapproval, obviously caused her concern. She relied on the blacks to keep her in a good cause, and try as she might, she never came to terms with the fact that blacks could be her intellectual equals, even if she did mix with them socially. She was too conscious of her own colour, and too romantic about the colour of the Afro-American. Travelling in the South for the N.A.A.C.P. she inadvertently revealed that she had felt "a sense of adventure in literally crossing the

34. M.W.Ovington, 'The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,' Journal of Negro History Vol.IX (1924), pp.109-111.

35. M.W.Ovington to O.G.Villard, June 2,1909. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

36. M.W.Ovington to C.W.Chesnutt, May 5,1917. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.



colour line," although her friends in "little ways and with the finest taste" saw to it that she did not suffer.<sup>37.</sup> Even to one of the most committed socialists of the period, blacks were to be the recipients of benevolent benefaction, an idealized plaything, not people in their own right.

On the other hand she did have a very sensitive appreciation of the causes of racial friction. She gently and tactfully pointed out to DuBois the nature of the Crisis:-

"The magazine is the organ of two races, but its psychology is the psychology of the colored race."

Just as, if the Association's magazine was edited by a white man, no matter how liberal or sympathetic, he would occasionally and unwittingly offend his coloured readers, so also was the converse true. She described this as DuBois' "psychological failure with white readers." DuBois wrote in Crisis for a coloured audience, often forgetting his white readers, thus arousing their resentment. She succinctly phrased two of the N.A.A.C.P.'s basic dilemmas:-

"Is this a work for colored and white people to do together, or is it a work of revolution for the colored people only? Should we preach race consciousness just as the socialist preaches class consciousness, and should we teach the black man to regard every white man as his enemy except he who repudiates his race?" 38.

The N.A.A.C.P. and Ms. Ovington answered in the negative, but many blacks were still to decide for themselves.

Oswald Garrison Villard reacted to the 1909 Conference in a very similar fashion to Ms. Ovington. He recalled that those who attended, many of whom were engaged in religious, social or educational work:-

37. M.W.Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, p.25.

38. M.W.Ovington to W.E.B.DuBois, April 11, 1914. in H. Aptheker, The Papers of W.E.B.DuBois, Vol.1, pp.191-3.



"for the first time met the Negro who demands, not a pittance, but his full rights in the commonwealth. They received a stimulating shock, but one which they enjoyed."<sup>39</sup>.

Villard felt that it was incumbent upon him to tell blacks just how they should better themselves, by standing together as a race irrespective of religious or party divisions. Although working on behalf of other people, he felt that they should be chiefly responsible for their own progress, for they had an enormous latent power for self-protection and self-advancement if they cared to exercise it.<sup>40</sup> Like so many other well-meaning whites, he initiated a movement designed to help blacks, criticized the latter for not doing this themselves, and yet felt hurt and offended when the blacks undertook to help themselves without his advice. He was unable to work harmoniously with DuBois, and in 1913 declined to be a contributing editor to the Crisis any longer.<sup>41</sup> DuBois provoked a certain amount of antagonism, not only from Villard but also from May Childs Nerney, for which Spingarn felt obliged to reprimand him, as it was causing disorder and disunity within the organization. However DuBois defended himself, not only by saying that everyone came in for Ms. Nerney's suspicion and condemnation, but by pointing out to Spingarn something to which he was apparently oblivious:-

39. O.G.Villard, Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor (New York, 1939), p.194.

40. O.G.Villard, 'A Message for the Next Fifty Years,' A.M.E.Review, Vol.29 (1912-13), pp.225-6.

41. Kellogg, op.cit., p.95.

O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, Feb.11,1913; Villard to J.E.Spingarn, Mar.20,1913.

Villard to Jessie Fauset, Feb.24,1920 O.G.V. Mss. Houghton

"Everything tends to break along the color line. You do not realize that because there is no shadow of the thing in your soul. But you are not "American". The same is true of Miss Ovington because she has lived the life of colored people intimately. She knows "the line" when she sees it. Miss Nerney is quite different. She hasn't an ounce of conscious prejudice. But her every step is along the color line....Mr. Villard is the same way, only more so."<sup>42</sup>.

Ms. Nerney would probably have been horrified at such an observation yet like so many of the white liberals, she could not escape the prevailing mores of society. Conversely, at no time in the first decade of its activity did the Board split strictly along racial lines on a major policy issue.

Villard did not only resent the independence of DuBois. He felt aggrieved that Dr. Mossell and Dr. Sinclair of Philadelphia had raised \$900 towards a Conference sponsored by Milholland and the Constitutional League, and complained that he and Miss Nerney spent half their time "trying to reconcile these jealous and scheming black brothers, and the work suffers in consequence."<sup>43</sup> Villard soon withdrew from the consequences of his militant language. In the Postwar Reconstruction, a time of increasing black militancy, pride and self-awareness, he was back-pedalling rapidly from the radical demands for manhood rights to "moral solutions." To solve the problem as the Saviour would deal with it, to endure wrong and injustice in humility, to go forth "with the cross of color strapped on their backs," and never to fight for rights and democracy, even in self-defence, were to be the policies of the coloured people - all a far cry from the incendiary rhetoric of the years 1909-1914.<sup>44</sup>.

42. J.E.Spingarn to W.E.B.DuBois, Oct.24,1914; DuBois to Spingarn, Oct.28,1914. J.W.J. Coll., Yale.

43. O.G.Villard to F.J. Garrison, Mar.31,1913. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

44. Speech, June 1919 Ms. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.  
Clipping, Macon Telegraph, Jan.8,1914.

The two Spingarn brothers were perhaps the most popular whites on the N.A.A.C.P. Board of Directors. Arthur concentrated most of his attention on legal work, but he did form what was possibly the first inter-racial picket line in the South with William Pickens, when the National Council of Social Workers removed Negro speakers from its programme in Memphis in 1914 out of deference to Southern prejudice.<sup>45</sup> But as with Ovington and Villard, for the Spingarn brothers the N.A.A.C.P. "became virtually a full-time job, and its cause their cause célèbre."<sup>46</sup> After 1914, as Chairman of the Board of Directors, it was Joel Spingarn's uncomfortable role to mediate between conflicting personalities and interest groups within the Association, the most powerful of which being DuBois and the Crisis. Like Villard, J. Spingarn advocated black self-help, with their own leaders and their own money, yet a recent biographer has concluded that his "New Abolition" tours were as much a result of organizational necessity as a result of his desire for active participation.<sup>47</sup> A strident advocate of cultural pluralism, he donated the Spingarn medal, not only to encourage black achievement but also to advertise it to the white world.

Being active in the N.A.A.C.P. was apparently a thankless task. The relatively radical programme failed to unite the black community, or to attract those whites who were reassured by Washington's accommodationism, while the appeal to the lower-class blacks was based on a programme designed to appeal to the "Black Bourgeoisie." In a

---

45. Hughes, op.cit., p.30.

46. Ross, op.cit., p.45.

47. Ibid., p.23.

confidential letter to Spingarn, Ms. Nerney bewailed:-

"....so far as I can see, to secure officers for this Association we shall have to resort to conscription."<sup>48</sup>

One obvious answer was to have as many coloured people on the Board as possible, with preference always being given to them, so long as they were the type that the whites considered would work.<sup>49</sup> This caveat enabled Ms. Nerney and others to espouse the cause of black self-help, while at the same time participating in it and trying to direct it. She did feel a disappointment at the Association's failure to attract active, wide black support. Considering that the masses could not help their ignorance and misery, she was disheartened by the indifference of so many wealthy and representative coloured people to the interests both of their race and of democracy. The emphasis on material comfort and a peaceful life, with aggression vented upon each other rather than upon the real enemy, were all functions of the heritage of slavery, but Ms. Nerney and the other whites seemed to need the reassurances of men like A.F.Hilyer that they were considered different, that they ought not to be discouraged and that they were both needed and wanted by the blacks:-

"Stay with us. You have the support of hundreds of loyal hearts .....All we want is active leadership and direction, somebody to tell us what to do."<sup>50</sup>

The role and participation of so many whites had a profound effect on the development of the movement's ideology. Clarence Darrow's demagoguery gratified the white radicals and socialists, without inciting

48. M.C.Nerney to J.E.Spingarn, no date, Confidential. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

49. M.C.Nerney to A.H.Grimké, Oct.20,1914. A.H.G. Mss. H.U.  
Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Jan.3,1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

50. M.C.Nerney to A.F.Hilyer, April 22,1915;  
Hilyer to Nerney, April 19; May 1,1915. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.



the blacks, whereas at the other extreme, Jane Addams held the much narrower view that the N.A.A.C.P. should stress mainly the legal disabilities on blacks in both state and nation.<sup>51</sup> Butler Wilson's approaches to the whites on the Board were instrumental in the exclusion of Trotter, while at the same time they brought into the inner circles of the N.A.A.C.P. so many graduates of Hampton and Tuskegee, that radicalism had to be tempered so as not to alienate them.<sup>52</sup> Milholland and Walling dropped out to all intents and purposes by 1912, with the only epitaph that their financial contributions would be missed, but by 1914 the whites were admitting that the coloured people were able and willing to raise money for the common defence, proving:-

"...their increasing prosperity and public spirit....  
(which was)....an augury of their growing power and solidarity."<sup>53</sup>

The fact that many whites were volunteers, whereas those blacks who were active had to be employees, as there was no leisure class on which to draw, caused some ill-feeling. A black, Neval H. Thomas complained of DuBois:-

"His service has not been philanthropic, but commercial. We ought to control him just as any employer controls his employee."<sup>54</sup>

This was a sentiment more than shared by Villard, who resented the presumption of an employee assuming equality. Such a situation tended to reinforce the external status of the black in white America within the N.A.A.C.P. itself.

51. O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, May 17, 1910; Feb. 2, 1911. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

52. O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, Feb. 21, 1911; Mar. 17, 1911. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

53. F.J.Garrison to O.G.Villard, Mar. 22, 1912; Jan. 25, 1914. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

54. N.Thomas to O.G.Villard, Sep. 13, 1918. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.



By 1918, John Hope and John Hurst were the only blacks on the Spingarn Medal committee, something which Hurst considered impaired its effectiveness.<sup>55</sup> James Weldon Johnson was appointed Field Secretary in 1916, and after John Shillady's resignation following his traumatic experience in Texas, in which he cast doubts on the efficacy of the Association's methods,<sup>56</sup> it became increasingly obvious that to another white man of Shillady's calibre, the Association did not present an attractive career prospect. As they could not afford to fall below that standard it was therefore imperative to hire a black.<sup>57</sup> For pragmatic reasons, whites were obliged to rely increasingly on talented blacks in the management of the organization. Growing black independence did not always meet an unqualified welcome, however. Bolton Smith complained of the Chicago Defender's attacks on Dr. Griggs, for he felt it made interested whites think that the position was hopeless, as their friendship was apparently fatal to a black "leader." Although he claimed that before any headway could be made, "the people", (i.e. whites) would have to think of blacks as human beings with a soul, he himself could not conceptualize in such terms.

"....it is a painful thought that there is a certain class of negroes who do not permit us to interest ourselves in their people unless we are prepared to endorse everything which they themselves stand for, viz., mixed schools and all. I cannot stand for this or any other intimate personal relations, which I firmly believe would be harmful to the negro as well as to the white, but if I did believe in them my power to help the negro in this community would be absolutely gone. I am not surprised that the negro follows such leaders. One would naturally expect a childlike people smarting under the consciousness of undoubted wrong, to be inclined to follow the extremist and this is what I am afraid is taking place."<sup>58</sup>

---

55. J.Hurst to Amy Spingarn, Oct.10,1918. A.B.S. Mss. L.C.

56. J.R.Shillady to Board of Directors, no date, O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

57. W.E.B.DuBois to Chairman and Committee on Secretary, (Memo), June,28, 1920. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

58. B.Smith to J.R.Shillady, Nov.19,1918; Jan.6,1919. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

Trotter persistently remarked that white involvement tempered black agitation,<sup>59.</sup> for even those whites who included muckrakers, social and political reformers, suffragettes and those who donned the mantle of their abolitionist forebears,<sup>60.</sup> preferred to work with the black elite. In its zeal to maintain this respectability instead of achieving a mass basis, the N.A.A.C.P. preferred its branches to be under the control of "upper-class" blacks. DuBois never denied that Crisis was aimed at this class. In 1911 he appealed to "1000 of the best colored people in the United States" to raise \$2,500 cash for the N.A.A.C.P.<sup>61.</sup> The white connection was also responsible for the emphasis on poor white responsibility for white race prejudice, rather than any consideration being given to the role of the white upper-classes and the exploitative system in general.<sup>62.</sup> The tone of the movement had been set by Villard's call, which confined itself to the civil and political difficulties of blacks, not their economic burdens - a philosophy of non-economic liberalism which ignored the fundamental causes and was couched in very traditional terms. The tactics of legal redress have of necessity been attempts to utilize black professionals in the branches, or operate "through the people who count" because of the lack of a mass base.<sup>63.</sup> Bunche described these white sympathizers as mainly:-

"cautious liberals or maukish missionary-minded sentimentalists on the race question. Their interest in the Negro problem is motivated either by a sense of fair-play and a desire to see the ideals of the constitution lived up to, or an 'I love your people attitude'"

---

59. Day State Banner, Oct. 8, 1966.

60. R.H. Brisbane, The Rise of Protest Movements Among Negroes Since 1900 (Ph.D., Harvard, 1949), p.42.

61. W.E.B. DuBois to J.E. Bruce, Sept. 27, 1911. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

62. New Masses, Jan. 8, 1935, p.4.

63. H.J. Bunche, The Programmes, etc. pp.27-8;48.

None of these touched the realities of the problem. Recoiling from the shock of class conflict, they sought release in counterfeit substitutes; revolting against injustice they sought palliatiges rather than solutions, for the latter were harsh and not conducive to spiritual uplift.<sup>64</sup> Goodwill and understanding rarely alter socio-economic expression.

The N.A.A.C.P. did not however view legal redress as a total panacea for inequality, but hoped to eradicate racial injustice in all aspects of American life, and to influence the formulation and execution of policy in all government areas. Its strategy and tactics were firmly rooted in one of the basic tenets of American democracy - the right to petition for the redress of grievances. This right, which sanctions the existence of pressure groups, is directly permitted by the Constitution.<sup>65</sup> Inter-racial activity tended to restrict agitation and emphasize this aspect, for without mass participation by either race, action was confined to the "cultured, refined elements" or the "intelligentsia" in both races, who wished to maintain social status as well as advance racial rights. The N.A.A.C.P. was radical at its inception by its very nature - just how radical is often forgotten and overlooked - but its radicalism was socio-racial rather than political and economic.

Acknowledging white preferences made it too uncomfortable for the fire-brands who resented the white assumption of black leadership to remain within the Association. Even Booker T. Washington acknowledged

---

64. Ibid. pp.147-8.

65. G.Ware, 'Lobbying As A Means of Protest; The N.A.A.C.P. as an Agent of Equality,' Journal of Negro Education, Vol.XXXIII (1964), p.103.  
 W.D.St. James, 'The N.A.A.C.P.: A Case Study in Pressure Groups' (New York,1958), p.32.



that some of his strongest opponents had resigned or been put out.<sup>66</sup> The Boston branch was controlled by Butler Wilson who found it congenial to work with upper-class whites and to ignore Trotter, while Ida Wells-Barnett complained that Villard and DuBois had given her the impression that they rather feared her interference and did not wish her to participate. They apparently wanted Jane Addams to mother the movement in Chicago, even if she had neither the time nor the strength, nor the inclination. The "exclusive academic few" were accused of wanting to bask in Ms. Addams' reflected glory, while taking credit for representing a race they in reality ignored.<sup>67</sup> Washington had been conspicuously absent from the 1909 Conference, and had never joined nor endorsed the N.A.A.C.P. In fact he saw it as a direct personal threat, and did what he could to undermine it.<sup>68</sup> The criticisms from the U.N.I.A. were unjust but they did pinpoint one of the organization's prime weaknesses:-

"For five years it largely devoted its time, thought and energy in determining 'who was who' in the Negro race, determining who were fit to be introduced to eminent Caucasians, determining this Negro's and that Negro's social status and deciding whether he had cut his hair, trimmed his beard or wore his clothes in the latest style, or whether he entered the room gracefully or dined properly, etc."<sup>69</sup>.

66. B.T.Washington to E.J.Scott, Jan.16,1914. B.T.W. Mss. L.C. The deliberate exclusion of the more militant blacks and the surprisingly chauvinistic racial attitudes of even the most enlightened whites were indicated in a letter from W.E.Walling to W.E.B.DuBois, June 8,1909, in H. Aptheker, The Papers of W.E.B.DuBois, Vol. 1, pp.147-9.

67. I.B.Wells-Barnett to J.E.Spingarn, April 21,1911. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

68. There is a full account of Washington's position in A.Meier, 'Booker T.Washington and the Rise of the N.A.A.C.P,' Crisis, Vol.61 (1954), pp.69-76;117-123.

69. Negro World, Feb.24,1923, p.1.

As with the Washington-DuBois controversy, the discord between the U.N.I.A. and the N.A.A.C.P. was as much a matter of personality as of fundamental discord.

R.R.Moton, who on the death of Washington in November 1915 became the principal of Tuskegee Institute, had for many years tried to conciliate the opposing black factions, and bring together Washington and DuBois through the mediation of their mutual friend John Hope.<sup>70</sup> In 1916 the time seemed auspicious to try to bring about unity through a common denominator in black leadership thinking, and to this end Joel Spingarn personally invited delegates to attend a Conference at his estate at Amenia, N.Y. Those invited were assured that they would not be tethered to the N.A.A.C.P., though he undoubtedly hoped that the N.A.A.C.P. would represent the new united purpose. The most distinguished gathering of blacks for some time, it was also representative of a wide cross-section of black opinion.<sup>71</sup> The resolutions may be briefly summarized: that all forms of black education were desirable and should be encouraged; that the Negro could not achieve his highest development without complete political freedom; that for this organization and a practical working understanding among leaders is necessary; that the old sources of controversy should be eliminated; that in the different sections, different approaches were sometimes necessary; that the privacy of the deliberations should be inviolable; and that mutual understanding could be encouraged if race leaders met annually for private and informal

---

70. R.R.Moton to O.G.Villard, (copies to Washington, DuBois and John Hope), Nov.15,1910. B.T.W. Mss. L.C. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

71. J.H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p.447.  
See Appendix VI.



discussions. Because of the resolutions to keep the deliberations private, no record of the discussions is extant, but more important than the resolutions was the symbolism of the Amenia Conference. It was seen as marking the end of the old thoughts and ways of attacking the race problem, and the beginning of a new era of unity.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately the beneficent effects of Amenia were dissipated with America's entry into World War I, but in the immediate aftermath it produced a very rosy glow of optimism. Charles Bentley, a Chicago radical, forecast that, if diplomatically handled, it could be a strong ally of the N.A.A.C.P. and the agency of welding together the radicals and conservatives, which had not previously been possible,<sup>73</sup> while in the other camp Fred Moore of the New York Age saw its outcome as a new spirit of co-operation, especially after the appointment of J.W. Johnson.<sup>74</sup> This new era was also marked by the beginning of the decrease in white activity, but not interest in the N.A.A.C.P.

The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes grew out of committees for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York City, and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, as a co-ordinating agency and to round out a larger programme of community life than either of the other organizations had undertaken.<sup>75</sup> Strickland has suggested that the tone was set by the muckrakers who opened up the racial question to public inquiry, but that the activities of the social workers differed from those of the journalists and social scientists in that the former rejected the possibility of eliminating

72. W.E.B. DuBois, The Amenia Conference: An Historic Negro Gathering (Amenia, N.Y., 1925), pp. 14-17.

73. C.E. Bentley to J.E. Spingarn, Aug. 29, 1906. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

74. F. Moore to R.R. Moton, Dec. 20, 1916. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

75. L.H. Wood, 'The Urban League Movement,' Journal of Negro History Vol. IX (1924), p. 118.

all social ills through sweeping change in the political or economic system, for they dealt with the effects rather than the nature of the system. Further, their investigations were less abstract and qualitative than those of the social scientists, for their speciality was quantification, and they felt that legislation should be directed at the individual evil rather than being comprehensive.<sup>76.</sup> Unlike the N.A.A.C.P. the N.U.L. did not have members in any real sense - it was rather a self-perpetuating, inter-racial board of trustees "elected" from the community.<sup>77.</sup>

Prejudice and paternalism restricted the work of the N.U.L. In New York, for example, the city had several large Negro sections that were sometimes overlooked by charitable agencies, often because the blacks themselves were not cognizant of how or where to get help. They were sensitive to criticism, and unwilling to reveal their wretchedness, and consequently felt resentment at N.U.L. exposures of the high death-rate, their criminal record as a race and the overcrowded tenements. The League was battling not only for better conditions, but to convert the coloured people to its work.<sup>78.</sup> The sphere of action of the N.U.L. was "the social economy of the Negro" in contrast to the N.A.A.C.P.'s agitation for civil rights - a demarkation designed to avoid reduplication of effort,<sup>79.</sup> and a committee chaired by A.B.Spingarn met in 1913 to reappraise the relationship of the two organizations.<sup>80.</sup> From 1914 onwards the League was forced to cope with the consequences of the Migrations, which they opposed but

---

76. A.E.Strickland, A History of the Chicago Urban League (Urbana, 1966), p.6.

77. J.C.Dancy, Sand Against the Wind (Detroit, 1966), p.98.

78. M.W.Ovington, Portraits in Color (New York, 1917), p.137.

79. Minutes, Annual Meeting, Jan.3, 1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

80. M.C.Nerney to A.B.Spingarn, Nov.18, 1913. A.B.S. Mss. L.C.

in which they ironically became an agent. They purposely discouraged blacks from moving, and issued dire warnings about the degradations of fraudulent employment agents. They felt that the labour shortage should be used to demand higher wages and better working conditions; it was an opportunity for co-operation which should not be thrown away by migration.<sup>81</sup> By 1917, Eugene Kinckle Jones reported that there were 21 cities working under Urban League supervision,<sup>82</sup> and when J.O. Thomas was appointed field secretary in 1919, it was agreed to centre his work mainly in the South, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. It planned to organize Advisory Committees of the influential citizens of both races in each state, and believed that it held the key to the most comprehensive programme for the South, as well as the North.<sup>83</sup> Summing up its activities prior to 1920, E.K.Jones claimed that it was "an idea put into practice" and "a principle made concrete." The idea was that there could be no satisfactory adjustment to the question unless white and coloured people worked together on the problems to be met - "not as two races, but as Americans, co-jointly....."<sup>84</sup>

From the beginning the League worked on the assumption that social conditions were largely the result of economic conditions, yet it was much more conservative than its non-economic counterpart. It became increasingly important after 1916, the War and the Migrations, but never clearly defined its national strategy and continued to rely on white philanthropy. Bunche considered that its very inter-racial nature became a source of weakness, which derived as much from the middle-class

---

81. G.E.Haynes to W.Buchanan, Dec.14,1916. G.E.H. Mss. Fisk.

82. Chicago Broadax, Dec.22,1917, p.2.

83. J.O.Thomas to J.H.Dillard, Oct.1,1919; Thomas to B.Hubert, Oct.8, 1919. N.U.L. Mss. L.C.

84. Competitor, Vol.1 (Mar.1920), p.43.

conservatism of the black members, as the caution of and racial stereotypes held by the whites. Carefully avoiding the tag of racialism, it left controversial issues to the labour unions and the N.A.A.C.P.<sup>85.</sup>

The Negro Organization Society of Virginia was founded in 1909, by Robert Russa Moton, the Commissioner of Cadets at Hampton Institute, to do something of the same work for coloured people that the Co-operative Educational Association was doing for the white people of the state. The idea was influenced by the Hampton Conferences, and was designed to interest and include all the coloured people of the state without in any way conflicting with the existing organizations. Its only paid official was one field worker, and it defrayed its expenses by the collection of nominal annual dues. Its first full year of constructive work ended in November, 1913, when J.M.Grady, the Executive Secretary reported the awakening of educational interest in the country districts, as the Society had helped to secure the building of 10 graded school houses, a health campaign and handbook, and a clean-up campaign in which 100,000 blacks were anticipated to have cleaned-up their homes.<sup>86.</sup> The Society was committed to encouraging self-help, and by 1914, 404 organizations were admitted to membership, (108 religious; 112 school or improvement leagues, and teachers' associations; 42 fraternal orders; 21 women's circles; 5 farmers' conferences; 1 emancipation society and 1 bank) in addition to 567 individuals. It proposed to centre its work on schools, sanitation, agriculture and commerce,<sup>87.</sup> and aimed to interest "1000 choice men and women" while concentrating on education and health, at

---

85. Bunche, *op.cit.*, p.265.

86. Programme, First Annual Session, N.O.S. Va. 6-7 Nov., 1913.)  
 Proceedings, Annual Meeting, 1913 ) Pamphlets,  
 W.T.B. Williams, History of the N.O.S. Va. ) H.I.

87. Proceedings, Annual Meeting, N.O.S. Va., 1914.

least in the first few years.<sup>88.</sup>

Moton reported to Washington that it had met practically no white opposition, and in fact a letter from President Wilson was published commending "the happy circumstances of recent times" in mature inter-racial co-operation.<sup>89</sup> Wilson was no doubt pleased with Frissell's assurance that the Society had "nothing whatever to do with politics or social equality or any like movement."<sup>90.</sup> E.J.Scott was so impressed that he felt the society should be nationalized, possibly through the N.N.B.L.<sup>91.</sup> This idea never came to fruition, possibly as Moton from his position at Tuskegee became a national figure in his own right, without the backing of an organization. The Society enjoyed a remarkable growth, but was firmly in the Hampton tradition of practical accommodationism. Its motto of "Better Homes, Better Farms, Better Schools and Better Health" had an almost universal appeal, although the idea of school improvement through inter-racial co-operation took some effort to sell.<sup>92.</sup> To live up to its motto, its specific aims were to build better school houses, lengthen terms and create interest in education; to improve public health by enlightening it on the causes and prevention of diseases, and by establishing better health conditions in the home and at all public meeting places;

88. Norfolk Journal and Guide, Feb.22,1913. Clipping, H.I.

89. R.R.Moton to B.T.Washington, Dec.26,1913. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.  
Newport News Star, 21 Nov.,1914. Clipping H.I.

90. H.B.Frissell to W.Wilson, Nov.3,1914. W.W. Mss. L.C.

91. E.J.Scott to R.R.Moton, July 14,1915. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

92. Norfolk Journal and Guide, Nov.11,1916 and Nov.18,1916, p.1.



to secure co-operation among farmers in buying and selling products; to encourage land buying and better farming methods; and to wage an increasing campaign for better homes and morals, thus developing a higher type of citizenship.<sup>93</sup> During the War the N.O.S.Va. arranged a series of meetings in about one third of the counties of Virginia with the object of reaching the rank-and-file of rural coloured people with the information pertaining to the war and making another general appeal for the hearty support of all war activities - the purchase of war savings stamps, observance of food regulations, meeting the great demand for labour by working full-time, and contributing to all agencies serving the men of the army.<sup>94</sup> Despite its aim not to overlap any existing organizations, it merged with the Virginia State Teachers' Association in 1917, allegedly usurping the prerogatives and authority that belonged to the latter.<sup>95</sup> However aside from its concrete achievements and its apparently tension-free inter-racial relations, perhaps because its aims were so much more definite and immediate, the concept of the N.O.S.Va. obviated the necessity of establishing a new organization, for by utilizing established channels it had a following already built-up, through which the necessary sentiment could readily be created and the agents easily find an audience.

The basic attitudes of the white liberals have been revealed by the nature of their activities within the Associations in which they participated. There was general agreement on the ultimate desirability

93. Norfolk Journal and Guide, Feb.3,1917, p.4

94. Norfolk Journal and Guide, Aug.24,1918. Clipping, H.I.

95. J.M.Ellison, Negro Organizations and Leadership in Relation to Rural Life in Virginia (Hampton,1933).

of black leadership and self-organization, but Trotter was obliged to point out to Spingarn that if the whites really meant what they said, then the N.A.A.C.P. should cease to attack racially autonomous organizations.<sup>96</sup> The inherent contradiction in this problem was that success would leave the racial liberals without a cause. There was a general feeling that the blacks should shoulder more of the financial burdens of the organizations operating on their behalf, both for practical reasons as well as ideological. Increased self-reliance would ease the pressure on white benefactors, for those who gave to the radical organizations were not nearly so wealthy as the philanthropists supporting the Southern industrial schools. The liberals also experienced feelings of exasperation that blacks turned to them for money; this reinforced a latent paternalism and provoked a reaction bordering almost on contempt.<sup>97</sup> Most white liberals did applaud the growing race pride fostered by such institutions as the Journal of Negro History and the Spingarn Medal. The former was seen as making up "for the want of a real sense of culture" on the part of the black, especially the "above-average."<sup>98</sup> Racial balance on the Boards of Directors became a sensitive issue; this was to be preserved as much as possible to avert widespread criticism.<sup>99</sup> By 1913, the N.A.A.C.P. had decided not to charter any new branches, except in the far South, unless there was a certain proportion of white members, so that the two

---

96. W.H.Trotter to J.E.Spingarn, Aug.23,1916; Aug.16,1916; Jan.2,1913. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

M.C.Nerney to A.H.Grimké, Oct.15,1914. A.H.G. Mss. H.U.

97. G.Stewart to J.E.Spingarn, Dec.1,1913. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

98. F.L.Hoffman to C.G.Woodson Mar.17,1920. A.B.S. Mss. L.C.

99. W.E.B.Dubois to Committee of Members of Board of Directors, Memo, Oct.27,1917. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

100. races might learn to work together. This was becoming increasingly difficult,<sup>101.</sup> and the rift between a predominantly white Board and a predominantly black rank-and-file grew increasingly apparent.

In general terms, many blacks accused their white friends of being misguided. Francis Grimké, preaching on 'God and the Race Problem' said that any true friend would try to stimulate black self-respect, and encourage manly aspiration. However, rather than this, the country seemed more anxious to develop and breed Negroes who were without self-respect, manhood and aspiration, a phenomenon in which the so-called friends of the race acquiesced.<sup>102.</sup> In a more gentle fashion, Ms. Terrell pointed out to a white woman just how, with the best will in the world, whites would appoint black persons to positions for which they were unsuited and of which they were unworthy. Ignorant of the social life and standards of blacks, they would appoint, for example, the children of their cook on account of the mother's loyal service, rather than on the merits of her offspring.<sup>103.</sup>

Such criticisms were not taken very well by the whites concerned. Some were resigned, who felt like R.C.Ogden:-

"We cannot meet the views of our coloured friends and must be content to be greatly misunderstood for the sake of the largest usefulness."<sup>104.</sup>

Others felt resentment that blacks would not trust their problems entirely to white wisdom, while others lost heart or were aggrieved that the race was not sufficiently grateful to them.<sup>105.</sup> It was well-known that even in

100. M.C.Nerney to R.P.B.Walker (Cornell University) Jan.10,1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

101. A.H.Grimké to R.Nash, Nov.21,1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

102. Sermon, May 3,1903 in C.G.Woodson, The Works of Francis Grimké, pp.364-372.

103. M.C.Terrell to Mrs. Williams, Nov.16,1918. M.C.T. Mss. L.C.

104. R.C.Ogden to O.G.Villard, Mar.10,1905. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton.

105. S.S.Furr (President, Newport News Training School) to W.Wilson 28 Mar.,1914. W.W. Mss. L.C.

committed bi-racial organizations, the two races did not always co-operate amicably. In the N.A.A.C.P., the feud between DuBois and Villard became quite bitter. Commenting on Villard's resignation, chiefly because of this squabble, Ms. Ovington admitted:-

"I am sick at heart over it. To you it means just Dr. DuBois and Mr. Dill, but to me it means a confession to the world that we cannot work with the coloured people unless they are our subordinates...It puts us back five years."<sup>106</sup>.

Rather than become resentful at blacks for their independence or alleged ingratitude, some whites preferred to romanticize them. There were two reactions to the uneasy suspicion that "the object of brutality is of necessity brutalized" - thinly veiled contempt or romantic sympathy. The latter could result in such stereotyped cliches as "Negroes seem naturally a gentle, loving people," or the "Negro is sympathetic, quick to understand another's feelings..." (therefore if trained he would make an excellent physician), but "few, if any, Negroes hold logically to one ideal wholly to the exclusion of the other. They cannot be logical and live."<sup>107</sup> Therein was the rationalization - although kind and gentle, blacks needed the guidance of rational, clear-thinking whites! J.E.Spingarn had much the same attitude when, with his "New Abolition," he actively tried to organize coloured people and their white friends against race discrimination.<sup>108</sup> His campaign exemplified all the facets of inter-racial co-operation - that race conflicts are the results of misconceptions that can be improved by knowledge; that immediate improvements are better than fundamental changes; that co-operation is more effective than mass antagonism; and that resort should be to

---

106. M.W.Ovington to O.G.Villard, Nov.23,1913. O.G.V. Mss. Houghton

107. M.W.Ovington, Half A Man (New York,1911), pp.71;114;185.

108. Press Release, Jan.10,1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.



influence rather than pressure. Lacking any meaningful dialogue with their black counterparts, they worked to suit their own needs and predispositions, rather than for what seemed necessary to blacks to advance the cause.

The other side of the racial coin is of course black reaction to white co-operation. DuBois, who had possibly had more contact with white liberals and intellectuals than most of the Talented Tenth, summed up his experiences. When a girl in his class asked him "Do you trust white people?" he reacted thus:-

"You do not and you know that you do not, much as you want to; yet you rise and lie and say that you do; you must say it for her salvation and the world's; you repeat that she must learn to trust them, that most white folks are honest, and all the while you are lying, and every level, salient eye knows that you are lying, and miserably you sit and lie on, to the greater glory of God."<sup>110</sup>.

His feelings ranged from the trust and hope he placed in men like Spingarn, to the denunciation of white men as devils in 'A Litany At Atlanta' written after the 1906 Riot.<sup>111</sup> He frequently rejoiced in his blackness, in the fact that he was not white, and had been sent to undertake the mission of world redemption.<sup>112</sup> But frequently his feelings must have been of fatigue at the seemingly impossible task of breaching the wall of prejudice, even although he was committed to carrying on:-

"Wearied with being a pawn in the game,  
I'm determined henceforth mine own to claim."<sup>113</sup>.

The black intellectuals were neither immune to nor protected from white racism. Even their intellectual understanding could not depersonalize the shock or hurt, nor entirely control the inevitable resentments

109. Bunche, op.cit., p.550.

110. W.E.B.DuBois, Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (New York, 1920), p.81.

111. A.Chapman, Black Voices (New York, 1968), p.360.

112. W.E.B.DuBois, Darkwater, pp.30; 60-65.

113. Horizon, May 1907, p.26.



and bitterness. As Ms. Terrell wrote:-

"There are many cases of assault and battery committed against the feelings and self-respect of colored people, and I am no exception to this rule."<sup>114</sup>.

James Weldon Johnson felt that the situation was more intolerable the more intellectual (i.e. educated) the black was. There were also many feelings and thoughts that the black kept to himself, for these were:

"....influenced by considerations so delicate and subtle that it would be impossible for him to confess or explain them to one of the opposite race. This gives to every colored man, in proportion to his intellectuality, a sort of dual personality: there is one phase of him that is disclosed only in the freemasonry of his own race."<sup>115</sup>.

Johnson also claimed that the more advanced element of the race carried the entire weight of the racial problem, which worried the others very little.<sup>116</sup> He repeatedly said that the main difficulty of the race question lay more in the mental attitude of the white people than in the actual condition of the coloured people. This was to Johnson a source of hope, for he felt that erroneous assumptions could be more easily rectified than actual conditions.<sup>117</sup> Most blacks continued to advise their fellows that the whites could best be handled by the use of common-sense, which meant the show of good-breeding and the evidence of personal worth,<sup>118</sup> in other words, blacks had to measure up to the criteria of white gentility to be acceptable.

Black intellectuals have often sought to identify with the social norms of the white liberals, and have acted as if their experiences

<sup>114</sup>. Barton, *op.cit.*, p.71.

<sup>115</sup>. J.W.Johnson, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, p.21.

<sup>116</sup>. Ibid., pp.80-82.

<sup>117</sup>. New York Age, Nov.23,1916, p.4.

<sup>118</sup>. Colored American, Mar.22,1902, p.8.

were identical. On the other hand, within the black community, the Talented Tenth functioned as symbols of socio-economic mobility, and their inter-action with whites was qualitatively different from that of the rest of the race. These contacts were not necessarily more frequent, but they were more sustained and less casual, and as they were usually with intellectual counterparts, they were therefore more egalitarian. Black intellectuals further related themselves to the white community at large through the various media of communication, and their isolation was less pronounced than that of the masses. On the other hand, these contacts were a source of tension and often of frustration; they were aware of their equality in terms of ability, but were sensitive to rebuffs both as individuals and as intellectuals.<sup>119.</sup>

The third element of the inter-racial contact of intellectuals was to be the circumscription of the Talented Tenth by white philanthropy. Most of the blacks schooled in the South between 1865 and 1880 were educated in institutions supported largely by Northern churches, although the black community collected considerable money for their schools, especially at the elementary level. It was not until the turn of the century that substantial foundation funds began to flow into black education, but the fundamental difference was more of motive than of effect.<sup>120.</sup> From 1882 to 1911 the appropriations of the Slater Board fostered largely two lines of endeavour - assistance to private schools

- 
119. J.A. and M.N.Tillman, 'Black Intellectuals, White Liberals and Race Relations,' Phylon, Vol.33 (1972), p.54.  
 W.Record, 'Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community,' British Journal of Sociology, Vol.18 (1957), pp.246-7.
120. E.L.Rhind and B.Singham in W.Weaver, U.S. Philanthropic Foundations, (New York,1967), p.435.  
 U.W.Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education, (Nashville,1930), p.57.

or denominational institutions which were training teachers, and donations to public schools where existent need or efficient work justified assistance. From 1902, the General Education Board fostered higher education and education in the South, acquiring considerable influence by co-operation with local effort and stimulation towards adequate care of existent needs.<sup>121.</sup> Private individuals made contributions to seemingly deserving causes, in amounts varying from a few to many thousands of dollars, according to their means. The educated elite were therefore indebted to the philanthropists for their education, and sometimes also for their employment, which put them in an invidious position.

The philanthropists seemed to act on the principles enunciated by Carnegie in The Gospel of Wealth. Wealth was produced by the able and energetic few, who during their lifetime were privileged to have the opportunity to organize benefactions from which the masses could derive lasting advantages, thus dignifying their own lives. All the man of wealth's surplus revenues were to be considered trust funds, which he was obliged to administer to the benefit of the community. In bestowing charity the main consideration was to be to help those who would then help themselves, and not to bail out the "irreclaimably destitute, shiftless and worthless." He had a duty to ascertain that his donations were to worthy causes.<sup>122.</sup> B.T. Washington's emphasis on self-help and his encouragement to his race to be productive fitted neatly into this scheme, and one major complaint of his antagonists was that he had come to have an effective veto on the flow of funds southward, and that without his endorsement, no funds, even for a

---

121. Leavell, op.cit., pp.64-69.

122. A.Carnegie, The Gospel of Wealth (repr. Cambridge, Mass.1962), pp.18;25;31.

worthwhile cause, were available. The crowning example of his omnipotence was when Fisk was obliged to introduce industrial training in order to obtain the blessing of the philanthropists.<sup>123.</sup>

DuBois expressed the irksome feeling in the relationship between the Talented Tenth and the philanthropists when he said:-

"....there is a feeling today among Negroes that certain classes of men are desirous of making the Negro problem one of almsgiving and charity rather than manhood and manhood rights."<sup>124.</sup>

He had already felt the power of philanthropy the previous year, when Atlanta University suffered from Towns' letter to Trotter after the Boston Riot, and DuBois' attacks on Washington. Even Bumstead had to admit the difficulty of reconciling "the honest" with "the judicious" when it came to dealing with benefactors who did not agree with the staff. Ogden was one of the few who were prepared to carry on helping the race, even in spite of itself.<sup>125.</sup>

The feeling that some philanthropists were taken advantage of by fraudulent blacks, raising funds for projects that were later proven to be their own coffers, the withdrawal of funds this caused and the subsequently increased difficulties of fund-raising led to action. So that Northern philanthropists could be guided wisely in their donations to Negro education in the South, the Association of Rural and Industrial Schools decided to federate all Negro schools deemed worthy and to blacklist those existing only for the accumulation of Northern capital.<sup>126.</sup> This was an alternative to the influence of Booker T. Washington, and did go some way towards coping with the difficulties, but it could not circumvent the reliance of the Talented Tenth on white philanthropy. The

123. Baltimore Afro-American, Oct.8,1932. Clipping, J.W.J. Coll.

124. W.E.B.DuBois, 'Garrison and the Negro' Independent, Vol.67 (1905) p.731.

125. H.Bumstead to W.E.B.DuBois, Jan.26,1904. Broderick's Notes.

126. New York Times, Mar.26,1914, p.10.

philanthropists had the power to direct the development of the whole black community, but:-

"they forgot the real weakness of the Negro situation: economic helplessness and dependence. His equality is in posse, not in esse. They gave churches instead of homes, theories of equality instead of personal security, theological bickering instead of land and tools, mushroom colleges instead of a good common school and industrial training system."127.

DuBois could point out the errors of the philanthropists, but he was powerless to redress the effects, and deep in his heart he had to ask himself, "What could the black community have done without such aid?"

The Talented Tenth were therefore in an ambiguous position in their relationships with whites. They could not function effectively without a certain degree of white goodwill and support, yet they clung to the idea that the race ought to solve its own problems from within. The most equitable, durable and significant of the inter-racial relationships forged in this period were at an organizational rather than a personal and social level, and the more definite the purpose of the organization, the more harmonious the relationships between members appeared. White sympathizers can broadly be classified as liberals or philanthropists: the former participating in joint ventures for socio-racial uplift, and the latter financing both these activities and the cause of black education. In both cases, they followed their own aspirations and transitory enthusiasms, rather than the long term needs and purposes of the black community.

---

127. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Afro-American' Ms. typewritten at Wilberforce, 1894-96. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.



## CHAPTER VIII

THE TALENTED TENTH COMMENT "THE NEGRO PROBLEM"

Pervading the whole black experience in America were the facts of segregation and discrimination, with their ultimate expression in lynching. The encroachment of white mores on the black way of life, and the legalization of oppression are fully chronicled;<sup>1.</sup> more relevant is the reaction of the Talented Tenth to what Villard described as:--

"the determination of the white South that the negro must always be treated as an inferior being and reminded of it in every possible way by political and social discrimination, steadily insisted upon."<sup>2.</sup>

The black intellectuals often found it more expedient to describe or comment upon the effects of discrimination, rather than to analyse its intrinsic nature. For example, editorial comment on the Plessey vs. Ferguson decision of 1896 in the Freeman did not explore the consequences of a 'separate but equal' doctrine; it rather mildly forecast a demoralizing effect on the race, "destroying the faith that Negroes may have in many institutions that white men control."<sup>3.</sup>

Francis Grimké used the hostility provoked by the Roosevelt-Washington dinner to denounce Southern prejudice, not to explain it, and to point out to Washington the errors in his assumptions.<sup>4.</sup> It may have seemed to many blacks that the nature of racial prejudice was too obvious and self-evident to necessitate discussion; all knew what it meant to be black, without having to have it explained to them. Direct protest was virtually impossible in the South, but in the North not only did the various organizations hold their conferences, but also meetings such as the

1. See Chapter 1, footnote 3.

2. O.G.Villard to F.J.Garrison, Sept.12,1918. O.G.V. mss. Houghton.

3. Indianapolis Freeman, May 23,1896, p.4.

4. Sermon, Oct.27, 1901. in C.G.Woodson, The Works of Francis Grimké, p.343.

Anti-Disfranchisement Meeting at Faneuil Hall, 1902,

were feasible.<sup>5</sup> Trotter, who was instrumental in organizing the meeting, wrote in the Harvard Year Book:--

"....the conviction grew upon me that pursuit of business, money, civic or literary position was like building a house upon the sands, if race prejudice and persecution and public discrimination for mere color was to result in....a fixed caste of color."<sup>6</sup>

To some Northern blacks at least, prejudice had come to be the common denominator of black misery, the one factor that ran through all the various component aspects of the problem.

The cure for this baffled some of the race's thinkers. James Carroll Napier described prejudice as "a plant that seems to flourish without soil to nurture it and without the falling rains to refresh it."<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, speaking before the Boston Literary and Historical Association in 1905, Chesnutt fell back on the panacea of education, and the social efficiency that grew out of such training.<sup>8</sup> However, despite increasing black protest, racial prejudice and the resultant discrimination continued to flourish, reaching its high watermark when the Southern Democrats came to power in Washington, following the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. DuBois had been one of the most perceptive commentators on the nature of prejudice, but even his dire warnings went unheeded. He had pointed out the deadening effects of caste restrictions on labour and on initiative, and that disfranchisement and oppression would in no way increase the fitness for the ballot of those at present considered unfit. He had protested in the editorial columns of Crisis that not only was it wrong in

5. Guardian, May 17, 1902, p.1.

6. Sunday Herald Traveller, Dec.24, 1967 Clipping, Trotter folder, Harvard Archives.

7. Speech, Audience unknown, c.1900. J.C.Napier Mss. Fisk.

8. C.W.Chesnutt, 'Race Prejudice; Its Causes and Cures,' Alexander's Magazine, Vol.3 (July,1905), p.21

itself to mistreat his race, but also that it was contrary to the interests of the whites and of the nation.<sup>9</sup> While DuBois harangued the whites publicly, Moton privately and confidentially attempted to explain to them black resentment at discrimination. He claimed that black opposition was based on the belief that behind the promotion of segregation lay the idea that the Negro was inferior, and the still more subtle idea that to be black was to be cursed, and therefore without opportunity. Blacks did not oppose segregation because they wanted to mix with whites socially, but because they wanted to share the better facilities which the whites enjoyed.<sup>10</sup> This was a refrain which the Talented Tenth chanted again and again - to prove both to themselves and to the whites that they were not ashamed of their colour, that attempts to approach white standards were not merely imitative but the results of fundamental socio-economic urges, and in an effort to circumvent what was often the physical danger of being black in the U.S.A. In one sense the whites tried to put the black intellectual in the position of having to choose between "race pride" or "desegregation" - not a logical dichotomy but one that proved a stumbling block to much inter-racial communication. The whites posited that the advocates of race pride should welcome segregation and the chance to stay with their own kind, and that any attempts to break down the walls of caste were the result of feelings of inferiority. The stalemate in communications illustrated a basic flaw in the theory that public enlightenment would lead to an amelioration of conditions.

The segregation in the Civil Service under Wilson's Administration was the cause of renewed public outcry. In a campaign spearheaded by Villard, the N.A.A.C.P. unequivocally came out against the whole

---

9. Address, Georgia Equal Rights Convention, 1906. Ms. C.C.N.C., A.U. Crisis, Vols. 1-xx (1910-1919).

10. R.R. Moton to B.T. Washington, Dec. 26, 1913. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

principle of segregation, without getting caught up in whether it bore more heavily on the segregated or the segregator.<sup>11.</sup> This was an issue that served better than any other to unite the race,<sup>12.</sup> even although the campaign was directed chiefly by whites, namely Villard, Storey and the Spingarn brothers. An open letter to Wilson pointed out the policy departure entailed by the introduction of segregation, prophesied the probable effects it would have on the race, and called on Wilson to extend his "New Freedom" to everyone.<sup>13.</sup> Simultaneously, W.M. Trotter was protesting the same issue. Like other blacks who had endorsed Wilson's candidacy in 1912, he was profoundly embarrassed by the President's policies, and told him so in an interview which resulted in his abrupt dismissal from the White House.<sup>14.</sup> The National Independent Political League also took up the cudgels of race defence, combining principle with political practicality in their correspondence with the President,<sup>15.</sup> while smaller, independent groups like the Committee of 100 of Hudson County took it upon themselves to protest directly to the White House.<sup>16.</sup> Even Booker T. Washington remarked that he had "never seen the colored people so discouraged and bitter as they are at the present time." Not only were blacks being segregated, but their appointments were being taken away and given to whites and Indians.<sup>17.</sup> Segregation had become a factor of black economics and jobs as well as principle.

---

11. Address by O.G. Villard to Baltimore Branch, N.A.A.C.P. Oct. 20, 1913 Mss. Harvard.

12. O.G. Villard to G.F. Peabody, Jan. 23, 1914, O.G.V. Mss. Harvard.

13. N.A.A.C.P. to W. Wilson, Aug. 15, 1913, N.A.A.C.P. Mss; A.B.S. Mss. L.C.

14. S.R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston (New York, 1972), pp. 180-183.

15. N.I.P.L. Memorial to Pres. Wilson, Sept. 17, 1913. W.W. Mss. LC.

16. A.P. Miller, J.C. Gunnell, E.S. Lynch, C.H. Mulford, A.R. Mayo to W. Wilson, Jan. 23, 1914. W.W. Mss. LC.

17. B.T. Washington to O.G. Villard, Aug. 10, 1913, Personal W.W. Mss. LC.



Racial prejudice, when turned into active discrimination, created segregation in many public places, denying blacks the use of both recreational facilities and basic amenities. It led to economic oppression, political disfranchisement and industrial exploitation; but the two aspects selected by the Talented Tenth as especially symbolic of the whole system were Jim-Crow travel and mob law. The former, which received Supreme Court sanction in 1896, was an issue on which the Talented Tenth were especially sensitive, possibly as they were fairly mobile, attending conventions, making speeches, etc. Paying first-class fares, they were assigned to the Jim-Crow coach, which was rarely kept clean and which was used by white men as a smoking coach, something the ladies found particularly offensive. They also tended to resent being classified with the proletariat of their own race. J.D. Corrothers found travelling in the South the most discouraging aspect of the white South's treatment of blacks, for he felt it was:-

"manifestly unfair to compell decent and intelligent colored people to be horded into a car with such creatures, unprotected, without human accomodations and insulted by every ruffian of the train, whether white or black, simply because their faces were dark."

He did not seem too concerned about either the principle of segregation, or the fate of working-class blacks, and even referred to "disgusting and dangerous displays of black savagery" from which whites had to protect themselves.<sup>18</sup> Occasionally however, by devious means, blacks could secure Pullman accomodations - at a price.

"The berth cost me: a messenger's fee, thirteen hours of work, worry and strategy, my attendance at morning church services, part of my dinner, part of my time for evening address, the assistance of at least six other persons, three trips to the station... and the regular fares."<sup>19</sup>

---

18. J.D. Corrothers, *In Spite of the Handicap* (New York, 1916), pp.120-21.

19. W.Pickens to M.M.Ovington, July 16, 1914. J.E.S. Mss. HU.



Mob violence took two principal forms, race rioting and lynching. There were race riots in 1898 in Wilmington, NC.; 1900 in Greenwood, S.C.; 1904 in Statesburg, Ga., and Springfield, Ohio; 1906 in Atlanta, Ga., Greensburg, Ind., and Brownsville, Texas; in 1908 in Springfield, Ill.; and in 1917 at East St. Louis, Ill. These were only the major outbreaks, culminating in the twenty-five riots in the last six months of 1919.<sup>20</sup> The definition of a 'race riot' was not too precise, but irrespective of scale it implied anarchy, violence and the break down of the constituted authorities. The New York Age felt that it knew where all the trouble started:-

"Race riots are too common in New York City, and the police department is largely responsible for them, as it manages in one way or another to take sides with the aggressors in the mob which is usually composed of Irish people and miscellaneous hoodlums who have a grudge against the Jews or Afro-Americans who live in their section or stray into it."<sup>21</sup>

The Atlanta riot of 1906 which inspired DuBois to write 'The Litany at Atlanta' showed both the futility and the unpreparedness of the black community for resistance. In a fictionalized account of the Wilmington riot in The Marrow of Tradition (1900), Chesnutt had suggested how riots were incited for political or economic motives, and he had glorified black resistance even when it had come to nought, but these attitudes did not yet constitute the considered judgement and advice of the majority of black leaders. Washington denied that the outbreak had anything to do with labour problems, as neither race was willing to risk its life to work, yet he foresaw the day when the economic aspect would be more central.<sup>22</sup>

Washington had in fact issued a statement from New York

20. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, A Report to the President (Washington, DC, 1963), pp. 75; 91.

21. New York Age, July 13, 1905, p. 4.

22. B.T. Washington to F.J. Garrison, Oct. 2, 1906. A.L.C. Schoenberg.

trying to take the heat out of the situation, for by it his whole philosophy had been undermined. Only days before the riot, Atlanta had hosted the Annual Meeting of the National Negro Business League, the supposed proof of black advance and worth, but had apparently been singularly unimpressed. Certain elements in the press advised restraint or retaliation,<sup>23.</sup> whereas others, like the Age, although giving front page coverage to Washington's advice, encouraged the Afro-American to stand and be a man.<sup>24.</sup> Grikae urged the Southern brethren to be cautious and discreet, but to defend themselves,<sup>25.</sup> while all seemed to take consolation in the fact of nation-wide denunciation of the atrocities, and the attempts by black and white citizens of Atlanta to heal the breach and prevent further unrest.<sup>26.</sup>

In 1908, Springfield showed once and for all that the phenomena of race antipathy were neither sectional, nor political, as they occurred in the North as well as the South, in Republican as well as Democratic communities. L.M. Hershaw in the Horizon welcomed this knowledge, as it removed the discussion from the sphere of partisan and sectional politics to the sphere of social adjustments and human brotherhood, yet all he could suggest to insure the future was the inevitable "education."<sup>27.</sup> It became clear at Springfield that neither Christianity nor public opinion were going to thwart the will of the

23. Indianapolis Freeman, Sept. 29; Oct. 13, 1906, p. 4.

24. New York Age, Sept. 27, 1906, pp. 1 and 4.

25. C.G. Woodson, The Works of Francis J. Grimke Sermon, Oct. 7, 1906, p. 414.

26. C.W. Chesnut to A.H. Grimke, Nov. 24, 1906. C.W.C. Mes. Fisk.

27. Horizon, (Aug. 1908), p. 11

mob, that the danger of such incidents spreading was more than real, and in response to a plea from William English Walling in the Independent, "a large and powerful body of citizens" did come together to try to preserve American democracy,<sup>28.</sup> a body which evolved into the N.A.A.C.P.

The East St. Louis riot saw carnage on a much greater scale than anything before, but occurring in 1917, it brought several new factors into play. Dissatisfied Southern blacks, reading such newspapers as the Chicago Defender, discovered a new self-awareness that prompted some to test the availability of first-class citizenship by "creating incidents." The new teachings of race-pride, almost as much as the presence of Negroes after the migrations, provoked "violence-proneness" and tensions among whites who complained that migrants were intoxicated by their new Northern freedom.<sup>29.</sup> In 1919, demobilized black troops provided yet another ingredient in the racial flare-ups, but by this time the new militancy was well established. Radicalism or charges of it, played only a subsidiary role in these race riots,<sup>30.</sup> although the Department of Justice accused radical Negro publications of availing themselves of the opportunity to utter inflammatory sentiments. It quoted as evidence of sedition the Veteran, which had claimed that mobs were too brutally inhuman to be moved by argument, except that of cold steel and fire. It was the duty of the race man, if he had to die, to "die game." The report also cited evidence of growing black triumph in the experience of fighting back.<sup>31.</sup> Trying to explain the trend of black opinion to whites G.E.Haynes charted it as a move from the conciliatory right to the militant centre, with a few recruits going to the radical left. Blacks

---

28. Independent, Vol.63, (Aug.20,1908), pp.442-3  
Vol.65, (Sept.3,1908), pp.529-34.

29. E.M.Rudwick, Race Riot At East St. Louis (Carbondale,Ill., 1964), pp.170; 271.

30. R.K. Murray, Red Scare - A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920 (Minneapolis,1955), p.180.

31. Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice;  
Senate Doc.153, 66th Congress, 1st. Session, Oct.17,1919. pp.162;165.

were ready to protect themselves and their homes, for the logic of the hour seemed to demand a stance rather than co-operation, conciliation and patience. This trend could be observed both in the press and in the pulpit - the time for debate had passed. The time had come for action.<sup>32.</sup>

Closely parallel to the phenomenon of race rioting were the more frequent instances of lynching. The Talented Tenth explored many avenues for stamping out these atrocities - appeals to public opinion, the shock tactics of exposure, legislation and protest. At the turn of the century, clichés like "Civilized people must respect civil law" appeared, and the equation of mob law with savagery.<sup>33.</sup> Kelly Miller displayed the confusion of ideas on what the attitude of the intelligent black towards lynching ought to be. He pointed out that the personality and racial identity of victims and avengers did not lessen the abhorrence for human torture, and that the equality of all men before the law must be vindicated. He then went on to virtually admit that rape was the cause of lynching, calling upon the enlightened to "ward off this evil reputation imposed upon the race by the dastardly deeds of its most vicious members," by whose doom at the end of a rope the race gained! White men ought to respect black womanhood, while the intelligent Negro should utilize all his power to encourage "his weaker brethern in the right directions."<sup>34.</sup> It was clear he felt that the cure rested mainly with the victim - his distress centred on the atrocity involved, rather than on the wider issues of the case.

---

32. G.E.Haynes, 'What Negroes Think of the Race Riots,' Public, Vol.22 (Aug.9,1919), pp.848-9.

33. J.A.Jones, 'Mob Law - Is It Ever Justifiable,' A.M.E.Review, Vol.16 (1899-1900), pp.135-9.

34. Voice of the Negro, Vol.11 (May,1905), pp.307-12.



although he often disagreed with him, and welcomed his "direct and forceful" statements.<sup>35</sup> Washington when he did discuss lynching, vigorously condemned it, but he preferred to choose his opportunities, so that his pronouncements might have maximum effect. The Board of the N.A.A.C.P. prepared a tentative anti-lynching programme in 1916, re-affirming their belief that a successful attack on lynching must start with the recognition that popular justification is the sine qua non of lynching, for popular support "by the active lower element" nullified the will of the better element expressed in the anti-lynching legislation.<sup>36</sup> But the process of persuading, or shaming, the white preachers, editors and politicians of the Southern states into curing the lynching habit by the conviction that it was a menace to law and order,<sup>37</sup> was too slow to save lives, hence other methods were necessary.

A method of preventing lynching and punishing lynchers that appealed to both blacks and whites was legislative action. A Bill for the Suppression of Mob Violence, proposed in Ohio in 1895, provided for damages to the victims or their dependents, and three years later Edward E. Brown, on behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Lynching Committee of Boston, drew up a petition to present to Congress. Even if this did not bear fruit, it was nevertheless a stern protest against an iniquitous practice.<sup>39</sup> But before the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bills of the 1920's, other

---

35. C.W.Chesnutt to B.T.Washington, Aug.28,1908. B.T.W. Mss. LC.

36. A Tentative Anti-Lynching Programme Prepared by the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., May 18,1916. M.S. Mss. LC.

37. New York Age, Jan.2,1913, p.4.

38. Cleveland Gazette, Mar.28,1896, p.4.

39. Indianapolis Freeman, Nov.11, 1898, p.4.



than a Congressional investigation of the East St. Louis Riot, Congress failed to meet the crises precipitated by mob

violence.<sup>40.</sup> Anti-lynching petitions were presented to state, national

and local authorities,<sup>41.</sup> but one of the most striking protests was the

Negro Silent Protest Parade of July 28, 1917. Organized by black

leaders from Harlem, black men, women and children marched in silence

to the sound of muffled drums, while boy scouts delivered circulars.<sup>42.</sup>

These explained the reasons for the March - prejudice, injustice, the barbarism of lynching and race riots, Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination, the hope of a better future for the children of the race and the memory of the butchered dead; it was a token of the growing consciousness and solidarity of the race.<sup>43.</sup> The unifying factor was not so much colour however as a consciousness of oppression, of which lynching was the prime manifestation.

Exposure of the horrors was felt by some to be a valuable exercise, to shock the complacent white public into belief and galvanize it into action. The N.A.A.C.P. enumerated its activities up to the end of 1918: investigations into lynchings in Georgia and Tennessee, and into race riots in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; telegrams and letters of "Protest, Inquiry and Condemnation" to 32 State Governors, 33 Chambers of Commerce, and 9 other official persons (of which only 9, 8 and 4 respectively were acknowledged); 40 press stories; Memoranda to the President of the U.S.,

---

40. U.S. House of Representatives, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess. Committee on the Judiciary Hearing - Anti-lynching, Jan. 29, 1920.

S.S. Tobin, Debates on Negro Problems in Congress, 1907-21 (M.A. Thesis, 1961, Howard University), p. 30.

41. Alexander's Magazine, Vol. IV (1907), p. 44.

42. J.W. Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York, 1968), p. 236-7.

43. Circular, Negro Silent Protest Parade, N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L C

the Attorney-General and the executive committee of the American Missionary Association; letters requesting editorial interest to leading papers, and the culmination in Wilson's July 26 pronouncement against lynching.<sup>44.</sup>

White Northern papers and journals sometimes carried denunciation of lynching,<sup>45.</sup> although this could be qualified with observations to the effect that although the savagery had increased, in general conditions had improved.<sup>46.</sup> Blacks were able to see the assassination of President McKinley in 1901 as part of a pattern of lawlessness from which no-one was safe,<sup>47.</sup> and from it point out both the dangers to the body politic and that no black had ever tried to assassinate a President. In fact, the suggestion that blacks would not be the only victims of mob violence gained increasing momentum in the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>48.</sup>

Ida B. Wells-Barnett waged a relentless and sometimes lonely crusade to expose the horrors of lynching - to illustrate the atrocity and quantify the carnage. Her paper, the Free Speech, was forced to close after a lynching in Memphis in 1892, when her scathing editorials endangered her life. She travelled and lectured on both sides of the Atlantic, organized anti-lynching committees wherever possible, and compiled a tabulation of lynching statistics in 1895, A Red Record.<sup>49.</sup> She argued not only against the savagery of the assaults, but that lynchings should be stopped on account of consistency, economy, honour

44. Anti-lynching and Mob Violence, Administrative File, N.A.A.P.C. Mss. LC

45. Harper's Weekly (Mar.23,1895), p.267

46. New York Times, May 1,1899, p.6.

47. C.W.Anderson to C.W.Chesnutt, Oct.29,1907, C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.  
Colored American. Sept.14,1901, p.8.

48. Pittsburg Courier, Aug.19;26,1911,p.4.; Oct.28,1911 p.4.

49. A.Duster, The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago,1970), chaps.4-26.  
I.B.Wells-Barnett, A Red Record (Pamphlet, 1895)

and love of country. She pointed out that blacks had neither rebelled nor retaliated, appealing to public sentiment for their defence, but that the Christian and moral forces of the nation had only rarely come to their aid.<sup>50.</sup>

Another type of exposure of lynching was the Tuskegee Lynching Record, compiled by Monroe Nathan Work from 1908 onwards. This became an authoritative document and source of information; it was given out without comment so that it would be accepted as information; it provided the South with first-hand details; it gave opportunities for agitation concerning lynching to originate in the South, bringing about a debate between white people, including white women; it gave an opportunity for organized efforts to operate in the South for the eradication of lynching; and it held the South to the evil within its own borders, by refusing to record the victims of Northern lynchings and race riots.<sup>51.</sup> Work's record was an invaluable source of information, but some disagreed with its presentation. First Washington, then Moton, minimized the crime, emphasizing the brighter side, when the general consensus was to paint the picture as black as possible to galvanize moral sentiment.<sup>52.</sup>

Kelly Miller characterized lynching as "The Sport of Ghouls" whose popularity depended on the fact that it usually selected an individual victim, and therefore did not lead to wholesale slaughter, that the group usually had feelings of self-righteousness and that there was no danger involved, nor courage nor daring required. He went on to question the

---

50. I.B.Wells-Barnett, 'Lynch Law in America,' Arena, Vol.23 (1900) pp.22-3  
I.B.Wells-Barnett, 'The Negro's Case in Equity,' Independent, Vol.52  
(Apr.1910) p.1010-1011.

51. M.N.Work, Autobiographical Sketch, Box 1, M.N.W. Mss. T I.

52. O.C.Villard to R.R.Moton, Jan.12,1917, R.R.M. Mss. T I.



efficacy of civilization to assuage the innate savagery of human nature, and remind the nation that lynching at home belittled and belied Wilson's high-minded assumption of international leadership.<sup>53</sup> However the South was not slow to defend itself. The more famous of its Negro-baiting Congressmen publicly condoned lynching, and several pamphlets were published to "make the South free for the white woman"<sup>54</sup>. The best that could be done under these circumstances was to fall back on the Christ-like image of the Negro, to carry on investigating and exposing, or to try to win the heart of the South by more dramatic presentations:-

"My blood-tears, wrung in pain from my heart's core;  
Accuse dumb heaven and curse a world that sleeps;

.....  
There is no God, Earth sleeps, my heart is dead." <sup>55</sup>.

Despite the proscriptions it placed upon the Negro, the South was proud in many cases of its treatment of its black citizens. In 1895, H.A.Herbert, Secretary to the Navy, claimed that although the Negro had never succeeded as well as the white man, in the South his condition was better than anywhere else, while Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, claimed that misconceptions regarding the conditions of blacks no longer existed.<sup>56</sup> The attitudes of Smith and his friends the Tillmanites were seen as keeping apart the best of the two races, whom they hated and feared, keeping the States backward to enhance their own power.<sup>57</sup> To some

---

53. K.Miller, *The Everlasting Stain* (Washington,1924), pp.314-33.

54. W.H.Collins, *The Truth About Lynchings and Negroes in the South* (New York,1918), pp.54-94.

55. W.F.White, *Rope and Faggot* (New York,1929).  
C.McKay, 'I Accuse' *Messenger*, Vol.11 (Oct.1919), p.33

56. *Independent* (Mar.1895), pp.293-4.

57. *Harper's Weekly* (Oct.1895), p.937.

Southerners the question was simply one of more efficient

repression, but to others there seemed a more humane solution.

G.A.Mebane concluded that if all the energy misspent in holding back blacks had been used in the application of Christian principles, there would have been no problems to haunt the South, whereas others were less altruistic, claiming that the suppression of black socio-economic aspiration had nullified antagonisms, and therefore the races could live in harmony.<sup>58.</sup>

Carl Schurz remarked on the fact that otherwise sensible Southerners would become completely irrational if the Negro question was mentioned,<sup>59.</sup> but there were a few of "the submerged white South" like Joseph C. Manning who could rise above their environment to demand equality before the law for both races.<sup>60.</sup> Friends of the black complained of the difficulty of reaching the masses of Southern whites, when the politicians were self-seeking and the preachers indifferent,<sup>61.</sup> but by 1913 John Hope was beginning to feel that a few progressive whites were prepared to facilitate black development. The difficulty was in keeping them interested - neither pushing them too far too fast, nor showing any doubt of their sincerity.<sup>62.</sup> By 1919 the N.A.A.C.P. was becoming prepared to risk the supersensitivity of the South for the cause of democracy.<sup>63.</sup> In the same year, the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation was formed, and committees of Southern residents organized

58. Arena, Vol.24 (1900), pp.449-573.

59. C.Schurz, 'Can the South Solve the Negro Problem?' McClure's Magazine, Vol.22 (1904), pp.260.

60. Voice (Oct.1907), pp.352-3.

61. J.H.Dillard to J.E.Spingarn, Oct.17,1916.J.E.S. Mss. HU.

62. John Hope to J.E.Spingarn, Sept.24,1913.J.E.S. Mss. HU.

63. J.R.Shillady to Bolton Smith, Jan.11,1919.N.A.A.C.P. Mss. LC



throughout the white South to stand for justice and fair play for the black race, and living conditions that would discourage migration to other sections, but on condition that the South reformed without outside interference.<sup>64</sup>

The Talented Tenth was therefore faced with the problem of the South, where conditions were steadily worsening, but where white opinion was growing more and more complacent that conditions were improving. The dilemma was to expose the truth, and risk the alienation of new found friends, or to acquiesce, and risk yet more lynching and suffering. Their difficulties were in no way eased by the perpetual, bland optimism of Booker T. Washington, who insisted that conditions were improving, that whites were accepting black progress and that blacks were making commendable advances. He also preached that the best place for blacks was the rural South, and hence that blacks should stay where they had been born and raised and make the best of things, and neither migrate from nor resist white oppression. Ernest Lyon encouraged his race to maintain an interest in politics, to protect their rights, and advocated the social admixture of the intelligent portion of each race.<sup>65</sup> The A.M.E. Review characterized black reactions to the South at the turn of the century as "the Strike, the Go and the Grow schools" - that is, retaliation, emigration or development, favouring the last but recognizing the necessity of all points of view to keep the issue under discussion.<sup>66</sup>

DuBois was prepared to be quite frank about the scale of the problem, explaining that the true burden on the Southern people was not black education, but black crime, pauperism and inefficiency, for which there was only one solution - Government aid to Southern education.<sup>67</sup>

64. W.G.Wilcox, (Chairman, Board of Trustees, Tuskegee Institute), to J.O.Thomas, Sept.18,1919. N.U.L. Mss. LC.

65. Independent (Mar.1895), pp.298-9.

66. A.M.E.Review, Vol.17 (1900-1), p.88.

67. W.E.B.DuBois, 'The Burden of Negro Schooling, Independent, Vol.53 (July,1901), pp.1667-8.

In 1907, DuBois privately explained that the difficulties in the South were due to a lack of satisfactory inter-racial contact; such conferences as were held had lacked spontaneity, and the delegates left knowing no more about each other than when they came. He was prepared to concede that a temporary expedient might be separate schools, if the accommodations were equal and the segregation voluntary, or even compulsory, temporarily, but he regarded it as both undemocratic and wasteful, only a measure to obviate white antipathy. He had no interest in disturbing harmonious relations between the races, for his aim was to provide larger opportunities for knowledge, sympathy and human understanding, and particularly the lessening of personal annoyance and insult. He was even prepared to accept and work within certain lines of segregation, to stop it going too far or any farther, and to try to bring the races closer together. He also pointed out that discrimination was felt not only by the educated, exceptional few, but by all blacks, and he was convinced, having lived in the South for ten years that no amount of desert on the part of coloured people was going to induce the white South to grant them their rights.<sup>68.</sup>

Rev. J. Milton Waldron saw the race problem in the South in terms of class - it was a problem of "ignoble whites" and "bad negroes", which could be solved by the joining hands of the better elements of both races.<sup>69.</sup> Ms. Terrell extended the concept of racial mission to one of freeing the white South from the thralldom of its own prejudices,<sup>70.</sup> whereas the New York Age suggested that the white North should act in good faith towards the coloured man, giving each man his due, and that

---

68. A Colloquy on the Negro Problem between Rev. C.B. Wilmer and W.E.B. DuBois, reported by Ray Stannard Baker, Jan. 31, 1907. R.S.B. Mss. L.C.

69. Colored American Magazine (Oct. 1903), pp. 714-5.

70. Voice of the Negro Vol. 11 (Mar. 1905), p. 182.

the South had to give the Negro "a free hand, a fair field and a cordial godspeed" for the two races to work together for mutual benefit, as the coloured man would work to achieve for himself by his own efforts, given equality of opportunity and equal treatment before the law.<sup>71.</sup>

Sutton E. Griggs formulated perhaps the most complete black programme for the solution of the black problem in the South. Presenting it in a fictionalized form, his thinly veiled philosophy was spelt out in Dorlan's plan in Unfettered. This advocated the development of greater racial altruism, the "classes" coming to love the "masses" despite their worst elements. He argued his position from first principles - that the general physical and psychic laws of nature were applicable to the Negro, who was entitled to every right that inhered in the fact of his humanity. He forecast that blacks would bring their own qualities to bear on the development of the Republic, and that the time was ripe (that is, it was a time of transition) for men of imagination to project themselves onto the trend of events. The time had passed when the race could rely solely on the Republican party for the proper adjustment of the race problem - in the new era the Negro himself must bear the brunt of the battle. While retaining old friends, the new ideals were to be self-reliance, co-operation and organization. An organization was needed to recall the glories of the African heritage, to study the environment and point the way to future development. Primary attention was to be paid to character-building, through the home and the church (by non-sectarian, ethical teachings), and to the value of education, both industrial and higher. The race would be secure with a stronger agricultural backbone, when it produced an élite willing to direct and labour among the masses, and if it achieved a wiser participation in, rather

---

71. New York Age, Feb. 16, 1905, p. 1.

The Leopard's Spots which was vaguely disguised as a conversation between Mr. A. Hostility and Ensal Ellwood in The Hindered Hand, was designed to reveal that strain of white thought that was determined to prevent the rise of the blacks and re-establish the old order of repression, while at the same time defending the race and its Northern friends against slanderous attacks.<sup>73</sup> In a straightforward political pamphlet, Griggs summarized his conception of the needs of the South. It should take in and assimilate the worthy black voters; it would be a tonic to have the hope of national and international fame revived in the South, for the racist South was presently deemed by the rest of the nation as unfit to take charge of foreign affairs; and finally, the crying need of the South was the complete dethronement of the mob.<sup>74</sup> This was a reasonably moderate appeal to give justice to Negroes in terms of Southern self-interest, although the black angle was played down in preference to the latter.

One way of resisting the oppression was simply to leave the South, and head for the urban North.<sup>75</sup> In the face of Washington's assertion that "you will find the Negro at his best in the country districts, and in too many cases you will find him at his worst in the cities, of the North,"<sup>76</sup> the Talented Tenth were obliged to defend the newly-arrived migrant, whom they had often incited to come, and at the same

---

72. S.E. Griggs, Unfettered (Nashville, 1902), pp. 160-1; 223-269.

73. S.E. Griggs, The Hindered Hand (Nashville, 1905), pp. 206-14.

74. S.E. Griggs, The Needs of the South (Nashville, 1908), pp. 12-17.

75. See chapter 5.

76. B.T. Washington to M.W. Ovington, Jan. 24, 1905, J.W.J. Coll. Yale.



time organize the agencies for his welfare. To Kelly Miller the problem of the urban Negro was much more immediate and imperative than that of his rural brother. He felt that the status of the urban black furnished a contradiction to the prevalent belief that education would solve the race problem; in the rural districts the pressing problem was better and more schools, but in the cities the question was one of readjustment and wise adaptation. The perfection of the city schools was of supreme importance, for it was in the urban centres "that the torch must be lighted and passed on to the remotest rural ramifications." Miller felt that no-where did more culture run to seed or more intelligence go to waste than among the Negro element of the large cities, but at the same time the city and the country were interdependent. The rural black needed the sympathy and help of his urban brother, the city drawing on the country for new life and fresh physical and moral stamina, and the country drawing on the city for intelligence, system and civilized method.<sup>77</sup> As in other cases, Miller sensed both the nature and gravity of the problem, but was able neither to analyse it nor suggest a solution.

Attempts to cope with race problems in New York City took organizational format through the Citizens Protective League (1900), the White Rose Working Girls Home (Founded in 1897), the Committee for Improving Industrial Conditions in New York City (1906), and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (1906). Later the city became the headquarters for the N.A.A.C.P. and the N.U.L. Northern blacks always received less white philanthropic aid than their Southern counterparts, and were forced to rely to a greater extent on "self-help". The prohibition campaigns waged in New York between 1911 and 1920 provoked black reaction, but more from saloon keepers than from the Talented

---

77. K. Miller, Race Adjustment (New York, 1968), pp. 119-131.



78.

Tenth. New York blacks were active in promoting national racial organizations, and in protecting their rights at a local level by such movements as the attempt to enforce the Malby Law.

Possibly the most significant contribution of New York blacks to their race's development was the sponsoring of the move to Harlem. Men like the Rev. Hutchins C. Bishop, Rector of St. Philips Episcopal Church and estate agents like Philip A. Payton and John Nail saw that being split up into small, ineffective groups was retarding the economic, political and moral progress of coloured New York. Furthermore, the midtown dwellings were doomed to being crushed out of existence by the relentless expansion of the business district. Therefore what was needed was a movement in a single direction, concentrating numbers and therefore economic and political power in one section of the city. Such a movement would also accelerate the religious and cultural progress of the group.<sup>79.</sup> This formation of a ghetto, which forced the reputable and the disreputable to live together, was not however accredited with the modern derogatory connotations of the term. The New York Age as early as 1910 welcomed the massing of blacks in Harlem, for it ensured the success of many coloured businessmen and professionals, with the race patronizing its own entrepreneurs.<sup>80.</sup> When Harlem came to life as a black community, it was neither a slum, nor an area of dilapidated tenements, but a section of new law apartment houses and handsome buildings, with well-paved, well-kept and well-lighted streets. The trek to Harlem began in the decade 1900-1910, when the 53rd Street centre had reached its utmost

---

78. G. Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, 1963), pp. 51-64.  
S. Scheiner, *Negro Mecca* (New York, 1965), pp. 113-177.

79. *Interstate Tattler*, Mar. 29, 1929.

80. *New York Age*, April 21, 1910, p. 4.

development, and it offered coloured people their first chance in the history of New York City to live in modern apartments.<sup>81.</sup> By 1917 Harlem was conscious of its growing size and strength, a fact in which most of the Talented Tenth rejoiced.

Blacks in Chicago were also conscious of their new status, achieved by their own economic, political and personal power.<sup>82.</sup> One of the pioneer studies of the effects of social conditions upon the Negro crime rate was conducted there. Monroe Nathan Work, accepting that the Negro was progressing in civilization, and not degenerating, turned from inherent racial failings to account for the excess of black crime. He attributed it to the black's transitional stage of civilization, and to the economic stress under which he laboured, noticing that where economic conditions were poorest, crime was highest.<sup>83.</sup> In 1912, R.R. Wright undertook a study to broaden the base of DuBois's earlier Philadelphia Negro, which was more than just a social study of the race, it was also a plea for economic freedom and justice. Wright felt that the "Negro Problem" was an attitude of white people which only complicated the general problems of crime, ignorance and poverty among blacks, which some mistook for the "Negro Problem". Only by economic self-sufficiency would the black adjust to his new urban environment.<sup>84.</sup>

The most significant contemporary black analysis of the migration and urbanization processes was that undertaken by Emmett J. Scott. He concluded that the movement was primarily economic, although entangled in the entire social system of the South, and that it had no conspicuous

81. J.W.Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York,1968), pp.146-7.

82. C.Binder, Chicago and the New Negro (Chicago,1927), Pamphlet, J.W.J. Memorial Collection, Yale.

83. M.N.Work, 'Crime Among the Negroes of Chicago,' American Journal of Sociology, Vol.6 (1900-1901), pp.204-223.

84. R.R.Wright, The Negro in Pennsylvania: A Study in Economic History (New York,1969), pp.136-7.

leadership, as that of "Pap" Singleton in 1879. He investigated and analysed the causes of migration in what amounts to a reasoned catalogue of black grievances against the South, exposing not only lynching and ill-treatment by law officers, but more particularly the degrading conditions of Southern agriculture and share-cropping.<sup>85</sup> That many were prepared to endure for themselves, they were not prepared to bequeath to their children. The chief stimuli were largely informal and therefore not documented, like discussion and gossip, although labour agents and the Northern press played a conspicuous role. The Chicago Defender voiced the unexpressed thoughts of many, saying things that local papers could never have dared, and in setting definite dates, like May 15, 1917, it did add to the stimuli.<sup>85</sup> The movement was not however a "Migration of the Talented Tenth", of those who had been robbed of leadership opportunities in the South; in general Southern professionals followed rather than led their clientele, although they did appreciate the new economic possibilities. The stimuli came from Northern rather than Southern intellectuals, and the movement took place despite the opposition of Booker T. Washington and his successors.

One factor which facilitated black migration North was the decline in the number of European immigrants due to the War in Europe. Racial prejudice and nativism were closely related, as black writers noticed,<sup>86</sup> but this did not lead to any joint action by the two different groups of victims. Blacks had always feared that the influx of Southern Europeans would supplant the Negro,<sup>87</sup> and persistently

---

85. E.J.Scott, Negro Migration During the War (New York, 1920), pp.6;14-37.

86. Competitor, Vol.1 (1920), pp.22-3.

87. Alexander's Magazine, Vol.2 (June, 1906), p.16.

advocated the tightening of immigration laws to prevent the "undesirable elements of all Europe and Asia" flooding into the U.S. They were coming in too quickly to be assimilated, and their constant increase was seen as a threat to the industrial peace and prosperity of the nation.<sup>88</sup> By 1913, the Age bemoaned the degeneration of America, with the passing of the old Puritan culture and kindliness of the North and the old chivalry of the South, which had been crushed underfoot by "the common sort of European newcomers."<sup>89</sup> Even the objectivism and internationalism of DuBois could slip when describing the waves of immigration:-

"The white world's vermin and filth...."<sup>90</sup>.

No distinction was made between the geographical or religious origins of the different waves of migrants, nor were attempts made to fight xenophobia in its two different but related manifestations - nativism and prejudice.

The movement of labour from South to North created economic problems both in business and in labour relations. There had always been the suggestion in black thought that there was a connection between race prejudice and economics. The Colored American had suggested that making race prejudice unprofitable would gradually lessen it. In a country where the dollar was king and commerce the patron saint, it was only sensible to spend money where it was appreciated.<sup>91</sup> This had been one of the ideas behind the bus boycotts, but it derived basically from Washington's

88. Colored American, Aug.16,1902, p.2.

89. New York Age, Sept.18,1913, p.4.

90. W.E.B.DuBois, Darkwater, p.53.

91. Colored American, May 17,1902, p.3.



concentration on the acquisition of economic power as the prerequisite for social and civil rights. The main organizational expression of this was found in the National Negro Business League - an organization which incorporated not only the petit bourgeoisie to and for whom Washington primarily spoke, but which also affiliated representatives of many professional organizations.

The N.N.B.L. was founded with the purpose that:-

"through the promotion of commercial achievement, the race could be led to a position of influence in American life, and thus pave the way to economic independence."<sup>92</sup>.

The League fostered the American myth that even the individual or group on the very lowest rung of the economic ladder could, by industry, thrift, efficiency and perseverance attain the top rung. Basically chauvinistic in its racial outlook, the League was more important in psychological terms than in influencing the economic betterment of the Negro. The first convention brought together the first generation of successful businessmen of the race so that they could compare notes and encourage others to go into business enterprises,<sup>93</sup> in the same fashion as at the Tuskegee Farmers' Conferences. These methods not only spread information beyond a narrowly confined local area, but promoted a spirit of fellowship, strengthening and encouraging the small entrepreneurs.<sup>94</sup> The necessity for business leagues was explained in terms of their educational influence, their tendency to inspire confidence in black business, and the opportunity to offer business training to the young.<sup>95</sup> Business leagues further taught "the spirit and ambition of the American"

92. Bunche, Programmes, etc., p.307

93. Colored American, Sept.28,1901, p.2.

94. B.T.Washington, 'The National Negro Business League,' World's Work, Vol.4 (1902), pp.2671-5.

95. Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (1904), p.338



to succeed in the business world - for without knowledge of these attitudes, as much as of business practices, blacks could never prosper in business, commerce or the professions in the U.S.<sup>96.</sup>

The N.N.B.L. always realized the uni-directional aspect of their work, and did not attempt to encroach on the work of the Afro-American League or other secular or religious denominations,<sup>97.</sup> and later it co-operated with the N.U.L. to promote National Negro Health Weeks.<sup>98.</sup>

Although sponsored by Booker T. Washington, the League was formed on suggestions put forward by DuBois in his Atlanta University Studies, a fact to which tribute was paid at the first meeting by A.F.Hilyer.<sup>99.</sup>

This meeting of the two streams of thought continued throughout the League's history. For affiliated to the National body were not only the organizations of small tradesmen, but most black professional associations as well, thus uniting the Talented Tenth with Tuskegee on the economic front. It was stressed by Washington himself that material possessions were not ends in themselves, but a means to securing citizenship rights, opportunity and education.<sup>100.</sup> Although Tuskegeeism was tempered to suit the Talented Tenth present, it was nevertheless predominant. The Proceedings show that speakers repeatedly stressed the cessation of agitation, that the present maladies were but preparation for the future, and that the Negro problem would not be solved by theorizing but by a practical approach. The League preferred industrial education, and supported club work in homes and churches, while reminding the race that its natural home was in the South, and that the race should not be

---

96. Alexander's Magazine, Vol.11 (1905), p.16

97. Indianapolis Freeman, Aug.11,1906, p.8.

98. G.E.Haynes to W.A.Simpson, April 27,1918. G.E.H. Mss. Fisk.

99. N.N.B.L. Proceedings, Aug.23,1900, p.16.

100. Ibid., p.25-

ungrateful to the white man even if they were not yet satisfied. Washington used the League to condemn lynching and other crimes of mob violence, (which handicapped business opportunities), and to promote his theory that the race would gain more by exploiting its opportunities than by exposing its grievances. The Second Emancipation was to be brought about by the race itself, by organization and investment. By 1915 the League comprised 600 local leagues and 40,000 members, a position from which it felt it could speak out more strongly for citizenship rights, especially after the contribution of black soldiers during the War. Again using business metaphors, Napier said,

"America has contracted many debts during the war. She will pay off all of them in whatever coin her creditors demand."<sup>101</sup>.

In December, 1916, Scott confided to Fred Moore that the business League was "defunct financially," although Mr. Rosenwald was prepared to finance it until 1 September, 1917,<sup>102</sup> but despite its financial difficulties and the death of its founder, the League soldiered on to play its part in the promotion of the black war effort, by asking for recruits, increased crops and better farming, conservation in food consumption and the elimination of waste.<sup>103</sup> The League never lost sight of its primary interests, but it became gradually more aware of a larger spectrum of racial issues.

One aspect of black economic problems which the League, and many other betterment agencies, preferred to ignore, was the problem of black

---

101. N.N.B.L. Proceedings, Aug. 23-24, 1900; Aug. 21-23, 1901; Aug. 25-27, 1902; Aug. 19-21, 1903; Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 1904; Aug. 16-18, 1905; Aug. 29-31, 1906; Aug. 14-16, 1907; Aug. 19-21, 1908; Aug. 18-20, 1909; Aug. 17-19, 1910; Aug. 16-18, 1911; Aug. 21-23, 1912; Aug. 20-22, 1913; Aug. 19-21, 1914; Aug. 18-20, 1915; Aug. 16-18, 1916; 1917; 1918; Aug. 13-15, 1919.

102. E.J. Scott to F.R. Moore, Dec. 20, 1916. R.R.M. Mss. T1.

103. Tuskegee Student, Sept. 15, 1917, p. 6.

trade unionism, or labour questions in general. In the North few blacks had union cards before 1900, but in the first decade of the twentieth century they formed their own segregated unions. These unions developed apart from the mainstream of the labour movement, and were often more concerned with politics or black business than with the plight of the Negro working man. In the black world, the emphasis was on the entrepreneurial spirit, not on labour solidarity, although in 1910 the N.A.A.C.P. asserted that anti-unionism was an attitude out of place in a modern economic system. Counter to Washington, they considered the labour movement a positive good, shifting the theme away from the Gospel of Wealth and laissez-faire, stressing the moral rather than the material, social service rather than self-aggrandizement, equal opportunity rather than special interest.<sup>104</sup> Wright observed in Pennsylvania in 1912, that the great majority of Negro labourers were unorganized, and came into contact very rarely with the labour union. However he felt that black inability to get work at a trade was as much due to increasing competition and higher standards of efficiency.<sup>105</sup> Some black newspapers praised the use of their race as strikebreakers, for example in the Steel Strike of 1901, where it was demonstrated that:-

"the Negro is the safest American. He is always on the side of law and order..."<sup>106</sup>.

This had overtones of Washington's reminder to the white South in the Atlanta Address that blacks were neither labour agitators nor strikers. By 1905 the Age decided that strikes should not be tolerated at all,<sup>107</sup>.

104. Scheiner, op.cit., pp.66-74.

105. R.R.Wright, op.cit., pp.94-99.

106. Colored American, Aug.17,1901. p.8.

107. New York Age, Mar.23,1905, p.2.

but the Pittsburg Courier adopted the position that if the coloured man "would do to help out," then he was worth his salary after the strike was over, when he could make his labour more efficient.

"The colored man should insist upon his quota of labor after the strike or not be made an instrument of necessity."<sup>108.</sup>

Such arguments were invariably couched in terms of race, not labour, interest.

In 1918 a committee of the N.U.L. and the N.A.A.C.P. arranged to meet the A.F. of L. to discuss the organizations of coloured working-men,<sup>109.</sup> although the N.U.L. frequently took up anti-union positions, which were seldom condemned by the orthodox black leadership, while it virtually extended its activities to all the problems of social service among blacks.<sup>110.</sup> Union activity had the same stigma as radicalism - it was a danger to racial advancement. Kelly Miller was among the spokesmen who advocated a pro-capital, anti-labour attitude. He felt that while logic aligned the Negro with labour, good sense arrayed him on the side of capital. The captain of industry supposedly felt that he could be kindly and generous to his black employee, with whom he was not in competition, whereas the white workingman felt the stigma of being forced into intimate rivalry with an inferior race. The white man had a vested interest in maintaining demarkation on caste lines.<sup>111.</sup>

Alexander Grimké had expounded on the virtues of free labour, supported by popular education and popular suffrage, in an age of industrialism

108. Pittsburg Courier, May 20, 1911. p.4.

109. Board of Directors, April 8, 1918. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. LC.

110. Brisbane, op.cit., p.75.

111. K. Miller 'The Negro as a Working Man,' American Mercury, Vol.VI (1925), pp.310-13.



112. and democracy. His rhetoric did not contain any constructive suggestions as to the role of blacks within the labour movement. He saw what was ultimately desirable, but the statement of aims could not bring about their fulfilment.

Despite the pressing nature of economic problems, some blacks were still reluctant to admit their primacy as a factor in racial prejudice. James Weldon Johnson in his regular column in the *Age* agreed that economics were inseparable from prejudice, but not that they were over-riding.

"The difference between white and black in this country is that the white man is compelled to struggle only against conditions that are within his power to change; while the black man, in addition, is confronted by conditions that are not within his possibility to change, he cannot change his race or color." 113.

Nine years later however, on the Eve of the Depression, Johnson had come to feel that the economic basis of the Negro's condition had not been sufficiently stressed; it was not properly understood, especially by the black himself. 114. For this situation he and the rest of the black intelligentsia must shoulder some of the blame. It would appear that they were almost afraid to investigate the economic ramifications of racial prejudice; to transfer the root cause of the black predicament away from colour to other fields, whether economic or otherwise, would at the same time remove the foundation on which their socio-economic philosophy rested, and under-mine the safety-valve mechanism of using race as an excuse in cases of failure. This was of course a very valid reason for the demise of many ventures, but it could be and was used as a convenient scapegoat. Without it, the Talented Tenth was philosophically rudderless.

---

112. A.H. Grimké, *Modern Industrialism and the Negro of the U.S.*  
Ms. in A.H.G. Mss. HU.

113. *New York Age*, Feb. 1, 1919, p. 4.

114. J.W. Johnson to Jacob Baker, Aug. 16, 1928. J.W.J. Coll., Yale.



"The Negro Problem" was simultaneously the *raison d'être* and the obsession of the Talented Tenth, but their approach to it was more one of protest and description than analysis and penetration. Covering segregation and discrimination, racial violence, conditions in the rural South and urban North, and migration, the Talented Tenth debated the whole spectrum of black political, social, economic and educational experience. They had to clarify the issues to themselves, explain the race's predicament to less perceptive blacks, and try to educate or shock the whites into a realization of the frightful conditions endured by many blacks. The National Negro Business League, uniting business and the professions in organization with a predominantly economic motivation, perpetuated the American dream and the myth that, with sufficient effort, anyone could succeed. The American way of life was unchallenged, and this unquestioning acceptance conditioned the responses of the Talented Tenth. Neglecting to really assess the problem in socio-economic, political or class terms, the Talented Tenth found it convenient to resort repeatedly to "race" or "colour" as the source of their misfortunes. As this was a factor they could neither reverse nor modify, they were obliged to attempt to alter American racial attitudes and mores by conversion and persuasion, not by any fundamental social or revolutionary changes. They committed themselves at a practical level to spasmodic social work to meet specific situations, and at a general level to pacifist, non-revolutionary tactics and the use of reason and reasonableness.

## CHAPTER LX

THE TALENTED TENTH AND THE WIDER WORLD

Although the Talented Tenth were primarily concerned with the difficulties of their race, they did not entirely neglect the wider developments on the domestic and international scenes. By the election of 1896, it had become apparent that the Populists had found the black vote too small to be of use,<sup>1</sup> and that the blacks in their turn were hoping that Populism had reached its high-water mark, having outlived its usefulness and become a "breeder of discord and political heresies."<sup>2</sup> The Democratic Party was a frightful enough prospect even before the Populists had "gained control" of it and pervaded it with their sentiments - a situation which led to painful uncertainty and bewilderment. Blacks further rejected the simplistic fiscal policies of the Populists, seeing the election issues as being as complex as those of the sixties.<sup>3</sup>

The Indianapolis Freeman wryly commented in 1906 that:-

"the Populist must smile when he observes that many leading men of today, including the President of the United States, are camping on the ground he occupied alone 15 years ago."<sup>4</sup>

But the policies of the Progressive era had less impact on black thought than its underlying philosophy and basic tenets. Where Populism had been overwhelmingly rural and provincial, the ferment of the Progressive period was urban, middle-class and nationwide, with the city bourgeoisie taking over its leadership. The growth of middle-class reform sentiment, the contribution of professional and educated men, made Progressive thought

- 
1. R.H.Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920. (London, 1967), p.108.
  2. Indianapolis Freeman, Aug.1, 1896, p.4.
  3. Indianapolis Freeman, July 4; 11; 1896, p.4.
  4. Indianapolis Freeman, June 2, 1906, p.4.

more informed, more moderate and more complex than Populist thought had been, and as it was the product of a more prosperous era, it was less rancorous. The movement was in fact basically inspired by men who suffered less from a shrinkage of their means than from a diminution in status precipitated by the changing patterns of deference and power.<sup>5</sup> Progressivism in the Post-Populist South has been characterized as 'Progressivism for Whites Only' but this was true of the North as well, where like the trade union movement, Progressivism was impregnated with a racist ideology, and hostility not only towards blacks, but also to Orientals and Mexicans.<sup>6</sup> The Progressive Party at best represented to blacks only a vague hope for the future, when Jane Addams promised it would fight for Negro rights. Nevertheless in 1912 Roosevelt rejected Southern blacks as delegates to the Progressive Convention, and condemned Negroes who were part of the rotten borough system of Southern Republican politics.<sup>7</sup>

Hofstadter has described the Progressive movement as an attempt to develop the moral will, the intellectual insight and the political and administrative agencies to remedy the accumulated evils and negligences of a period of industrial growth. Since the Progressives were not revolutionaries, it was also an attempt to work out a strategy for orderly social change.<sup>8</sup> The issues they espoused included trusts and finance capital,

---

5. R.J.Wilson, Reform, Crisis and Confusion, 1900-1929 (New York 1970) pp.11-13.

6. J.Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925 (New York 1967), p.63.

7. L.H.Grothaus, The Negro in Missouri Politics, pp.71-2 Crisis, Vol.V (1912),

8. R.Hofstadter, The Progressive Movement, 1900-1915 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), pp.2-3.

bosses and popular control of politics; taxation and tariffs; conservation; railroads and rebates; vice and corruption; the conditions of labour and the role of unions; woman suffrage; the rights of Negroes; referendum and recall; city reform and Prohibition. The Progressives were distinguished by both their activism and their intense optimism, and by their revivification of democracy.<sup>9</sup>

The Progressive movement sought to solve the problems of the growing power of big business and the mounting discontent of the lower classes, especially the urban workers, by democratising the machinery of government, and using government to control big business and to improve the lot of the underprivileged. One aspect of this was an attack on alcohol as the enemy of efficiency. With the great social awakening that occurred after 1900, welfare workers and social scientists became concerned with the problems of disease, crime, poverty, vice and suffering and the extent to which these were caused by alcohol. A further ramification in the South was that many whites believed that liquor would lead to race conflict, and despite the opposition of the liquor interests, they regarded the disfranchisement of blacks as a 'progressive' measure, for it removed a source of political corruption.<sup>10</sup> But most of all the passion for orderly, rationally directed 'progressive' change focused most sharply on the problems of government economic policy, at both state and national levels, affecting municipal administrations, education, law, business administration and religion as well. Most problems were related to the results of the rapid industrialism of the late nineteenth century. Questions of the nature of government in general and the federal government in particular, and of how to use government

---

9. Ibid., p.6.

10. J.H.Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.,1963), pp.1-2;39;120-3.



powers in the best interests of the nation were the two dominant themes.<sup>11</sup> All this was not without a profound effect on black intellectuals, for even if they were excluded from the movement, they were not immune to the ideas it engendered. Parallel to progressive activity in the black world, there were more and stronger demands for "scientific" study of racial problems, for accurate and indisputable data, for federal legislation to safeguard black rights and interests. The spirit of optimism was infectious, and the non-revolutionary, middle-class ethos of the Progressives appealed to the predispositions of the Talented Tenth, reinforcing their non-revolutionary, rationalist approach.

In international terms, black thought encompassed Imperialism, Pan-Africanism and the European War. Black opinion on European or American imperialism or colonialism was never unanimous. Quoting the Italian defeat at Adowa, the Cleveland Gazette warned:-

"One lesson which the American people can learn from the crisis is that the colonizing and annexation fever is not only a source of danger, but a menace to the stability of home government. With the one exception of Great Britain no nation has ever profited by the conquest of foreign territories and even the purchase of colonies has frequently proved a serious loss."<sup>12</sup>

In the same vein, J.P.Green reported to President McKinley that the war in the Phillippines was exceedingly unpopular among all the coloured people.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the Colored American was consistently expansionist and patriotic. Cooper felt that the Cuban incident was

"certain to bring about an era of good feeling the country over, and cement the races into a more compact brotherhood through a

11. D.A.Shannon, Progressivism and Post War Disillusion, 1898-1928 (New York, 1966), p.89.

12. Cleveland Gazette, Mar.28, 1896, p.2.

13. J.P.Green to W.McKinley, June 29, 1897. W.M. Mss. L.C.



perfect unity of purpose and patriotic affinity."<sup>14</sup>.

A constant feature of black thought was the optimistic assumption that prejudice would be sublimated to the need for unity in time of national crisis - a hope never realized. Reminding readers of black contributions to earlier American wars, the Colored American demanded a place for the black in the thick of the fight, wherein lay the lion's share of the glory, and protested that a Caribbean War could bring the Negro nothing but good.<sup>15</sup> These were accompanied by suggestions that ex-Lt. H.O. Flipper should be restored to the Army, to lead the Negro regiments designed to occupy Cuba,<sup>16</sup> and that the planned meeting of the N.A.A.L. should be postponed, lest any inopportune agitation prove fatal to the organization.<sup>17</sup> Cooper did however distinguish between "imperialism" (which was evil) and "expansionism" (which was positively desirable). Like all editors, he recognised that racism pervaded the thought of the anti-imperialists as well as the imperialists, and thus never became wholly reconciled to either.<sup>18</sup> Few anti-imperialists were as forthright as Mrs. Jeff. Davis, who said the nation had no desire for the Phillippines, "because three-fourths of the population is made up of Negroes."<sup>19</sup>

By 1901, Cooper's faith in American expansion was wavering - his attitude being typical of that of many blacks. He ruefully concluded:-

"The color problem in the United States should be solved before the American people should undertake to treat with the dark-skinned peoples of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Phillippines."<sup>20</sup>.

---

14. Colored American, Mar.19,1896, p.2.

15. Colored American, April.23;30, 1898, p.4.

16. Colored American, May 28,1898, p.4.

17. Colored American, July 2,1898, p.4.

18. W.B.Gatwood,Jnr., 'Black Americans and the Quest for Empire, 1898-1903. Journal of Southern History, Vol.38 (1972), p.548.

19. Arena, Vol.23 (1900), p.2.

20. Colored American, Feb.2,1901, p.8.

He did consider America's promises to Aguinaldo as "very fair",<sup>21.</sup> and heartily agreed with the acquisition by the United States of the Danish West Indies. For this he had two reasons - that the condition of the American Negro was better than that of any other Negro on the globe, and that the more islands annexed, the greater would be the diversity of the United States population, then the better life would be for Afro-Americans.<sup>22.</sup> In fact for reasons of racial interest, industry and commerce, he hoped that the President and Congress would advocate the annexation of all Central and South American Republics.<sup>23.</sup>

The Age on the other hand saw American expansion as conceit, based on the belief that other peoples did not have the same rights to be free as Americans had,<sup>24</sup> while the Voice of the Negro kept its readers regularly informed on the history, background and development of potential United States colonies, or other Caribbean, Pacific or South American countries with a predominantly black population. Horizon in its 1908 espousal of the Democrats, praised them for their stance for the freedom and independence of brown and black men in the West Indies and the Phillippines. DuBois was prepared to analyse imperialism in terms beyond race prejudice and the immediate interest of Afro-Americans, by perceiving the nexus between economic imperialism, organized war and preparation for war.<sup>25.</sup> The editors of the Messenger rooted the causes of imperialism firmly:-

"rivalry for the rich lands and abundant labor supply of the darker nations..... This economic greed and national imperialism has been masquerading behind the philanthropic veil of carrying civilization to the benighted lands of the darker, as well as of releasing the wealth of these lands to satisfy the wants of European civilizations."<sup>26.</sup>

---

21. Colored American, May 11, 1901, p.8.

22. Colored American, Feb 15, 1902, p.8.

23. Colored American, Oct 18, 1902, p.8.

24. New York Age, July 20, 1905, p.4.

25. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Economics of War' undated ms. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

26. Messenger, Vol. 11 (Jan. 1918), p.6.

The attitudes of the Talented Tenth towards Africa encompass both Pan-Africanism and their own form of neo-colonialist sentiment. Becoming increasingly concerned with "co-operation" between the New World and the "homelands", their primary focus was seen in terms of mission - the need to Christianize, civilize and enlighten Africa - presumably as a prelude to cultural and technological modernization. They never questioned the assumption of the superiority of Christianity as a form of religious expression,<sup>27</sup> either for themselves or for those still in Africa. 'Back-to-Africa' and 'Pan-Africanism' were significantly different in emphasis, the former, as advocated by Bishop Henry McNeil Turner among others, suggested that the future in America was too bleak to contemplate, while the latter was designed to secure full rights and interests for the black races living in the already 'civilized' countries.

Many organizations wittingly and unwittingly fostered Pan-black feelings - the American Negro Academy, the Negro Society for Historical Research, the American Colonization Society, the Hamitic League, the Loyal Order of the Sons of Africa, the Philo-African Liberators' League of New York City, (anti-slave trade in Africa) and the multifarious missionary societies were but a few of those agencies stimulating interest in the Dark Continent. Political Pan-Africanism held its first organized convention in London in 1900 with the Pan-African World Conference organized by Henry Sylvester Williams. One of the Afro-American delegates, Alexander Walters, tallied the ideas behind the Conference with the elitist concepts of the Talented Tenth. Feeling there was equal need for both national and inter-national racial organizations, he said:-

---

27. A.Hill and M.Kilson, A Propos of Africa (London, 1969), pp.291-3.

"It is the aim and hope of the Pan-African Association, which is neither circumscribed by religious, social or political tests as a condition to the membership therein, to incorporate in its membership the ablest and most aggressive representatives of African descent in all lands"<sup>28</sup>.

Trans-Atlantic communication was encouraged by ventures such as the New York and Liberia Steamship Company, which planned to establish a regular 15-day service to Liberia, under the direction of blacks like James R. Spurgeon,<sup>29</sup> while black periodicals focused more and more on events past and present in Africa. Alexander's Magazine ran a column by Walter F. Walker of African news in general, and Liberian news in particular.<sup>30</sup> The Age, despite a change of editor, hoped that Africa would ultimately be redeemed by Africans to civilization, and forecast the black Americans would take an increasing interest in the African Continent, to ensure that the natives did not share the same sad fate as:-

"the Indians in North, Central and South America, the Kanakas and Polynesians of lost Oceania and the Malays of Australia and its archipelagic affinities"<sup>31</sup>.

Blacks were beginning to link the chain of world events together to understand the composite whole.

The Universal Races Congress, held in London in 1911, was attended by DuBois, and although after this convention Duseé Mohammed Ali planned to make his journal, the African Times and Orient Review, the international organ of Pan-African sentiment, this role was usurped in America by the Crisis.<sup>32</sup> It may be that in the supposedly Pan-African writings in the

28. A. Walters, My Life and Work. (New York, 1917), p. 263.

29. New York Times, June 9, 1904, p. 1.

30. Alexander's Magazine, Vol. 1V (Aug. 1907), p. 198.

31. New York Age, Mar. 13, 1913, p. 4.

32. African Times and Orient Review, Vol. 1 (July, 1912), pp. 1-2.

Crisis DuBois fantasised not Africa's fulfilment but his own.<sup>33.</sup>

Pan-Africanism was basically a romantic and idealistic reaction to racism and imperialism, and was an attempt by Afro-Americans to improve their status in their country of adoption by vindicating the African natives.<sup>34.</sup> The peak of DuBois' Pan-African activities came after World War I, when he organized four Pan-African Conferences between 1919 and 1927, simultaneously with the Garvey Movement's appeal to racial pride and solidarity, and the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's which regarded Africa as the "literary homeland." The threads of Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism had however been drawn together by DuBois before 1920. In an essay entitled 'Hands of Ethiopia' he avowed that there was only one thing for trained blacks to do - to definitely and openly organize their world for war against Europe. There was "no way out" unless the white world opened the door, voluntary or by force. The recognition of black humanity was being forced on the world by the prospect of an African World State, whose aim was world peace. Included in this concept were the ideals of industrial democracy and the non-necessity of segregation. The black Americans had earned the right to solve their problems where they were, although they should occasionally furnish technical experts, leaders of thought and missionaries of culture for "their backward brethern in the new Africa." Important too was the preservation of the African units of self-government - the family and the tribe - and that there should be no sudden change in attempts at religious conversion. (DuBois was veering away from the neo-colonialist ideals for the redemption

33. H. Isaacs, 'DuBois and Africa,' Race, Vol. 11, (1960), pp. 3-23.  
B. F. Rodgers, 'William E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Pan-Africanism,' Journal of Negro History, Vol. XL (1955), pp. 154-164.

34. I. Geiss, 'Pan-Africanism' Journal of Contemporary History Vol. 4 (1969), p. 195-6.  
St. Clair Drake in H. Hill, Soon One Morning (New York, 1963), pp. 83-4.



of Africa, to a concept more of African self-determination.)

The real effort was to be through schools rather than churches, and would succeed if the civilized world had faith. It was in effect to be "a last great crusade for humanity" which would ensure the safety of Asia and the triumph of Europe.<sup>35</sup>

The external event that had most impact upon the black community in the period 1895-1919 was undoubtedly World War I. As in 1898, black Americans forecast that a national crisis could only benefit the race:-

"...whether America wins or loses in the great conflict, the Negro will be the winner. Trouble is a great leveller."<sup>36</sup>

Despite the history of the bravery of the Afro-American troops in all the wars of the Republic,<sup>37</sup> and very recently in the Spanish-American War,<sup>38</sup> the nation still begrudged the black soldier and officer the right to share the horrors of war, while to all intents and purposes, the blacks suppressed their outrage at the events at Brownsville in 1906, or Houston in 1917, in the interests of a greater patriotism.<sup>39</sup>

With few exceptions, namely the editors of the Messenger who saw the war as a white capitalist war, the blacks of America took the advice of DuBois to "Close Ranks", to forget their personal and racial grievances until after the war.<sup>40</sup> This may have been actuated by the prospect of a military commission as DuBois' enemies suggested, but it did mirror the predominant sentiment of the ethnic sub-community. The arguments of 1898

35. W.E.B. DuBois, Darkwater, pp.60-73.

36. Half Century Magazine, Vol.11 (June,1917), p.13.

37. New York Times, May 3, 1896, p.26.

38. J.W.Crowell, The Negro in American History (Washington,D.C.,1914), pp.58-9.

39. E.L.Thornborough, 'The Brownsville Episode and the Negro Vote,' Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol.XLIV, (1957).

40. Crisis, Vol.16 (July,1918), p.111.

were resurfacing:-

".....I could not but feel that my people by their contribution, their loyalty and their spirit along all lines, realized fully that they are heirs of America, and that as such they must be sharers of her struggles as well as partakers of her glory."<sup>41</sup>

According to R.R.Moton, the War was teaching that all races, creeds colours and classes were inseparably linked in America, with inter-related and inter-dependent interests, and the test of this national unity would be the encouragement of black self-help. The race was not asking for privileges, but rather an equal chance to prove itself at such a time of crisis.<sup>42</sup> The Half-Century editorialized with advice to 'Do Your Bit' in the war effort,<sup>43</sup> but some were not so easily fooled by the eloquence of the war rhetoric, Francis Grimké rejoiced in the prospect of an Allied Victory but warned:-

"We certainly have not been fighting to make it safe for true democracy, - for democracy in any adequate or worthy sense of the term."

Racial prejudice was blinding democracy, the nation was sufficiently neither spiritually nor morally developed enough to accord to blacks the rights of man as men: entry into the war had had a selfish, not an idealistic motivation; autocratic governments may have fallen in Europe, but the war was not over in the U.S. There was still a war to wage for manhood and citizenship rights. Grimké considered that those who abstained from complaint, or denied grievances because of the war were foolish, and were not acting in the best interests of the race.<sup>44</sup>

41. R.R.Moton, 'Fifty Thousand and Fifty Million, A Liberty Loan Sketch,' Outlook, Vol.120 (Nov.1918), p.452.

42. R.R.Moton, 'The American Negro and the World War,' World's Work, Vol.36 (1918), p.77.

43. Half-Century Magazine, Vol.111 (Aug.1917), pp.3 and 12.

44. Sermons, Nov.24,1918; April 24,1919, C.G.Woodson, ed; 'The Works of Francis J. Grimké

The Talented Tenth participated in the war effort, the young and fit enlisting, while the older members engaged in patriotism-inspiring, fund-raising or administrative activities. Plans were laid to direct black energies into the war effort; it was seen as imperative to keep Negro public opinion in a "healthy state", as opposed to a state of unrest or ferment, and as desirable to have a black representative designated by the Secretary of War to champion the race's interests. Questions arose on the training and deployment of black officers, the use of black nurses and the disposition of Negro selectives, while the organization and control of a Press Service to inform the black press of the War Department's attitude was seen as a necessary step towards a 'fair deal' for black combatants. At the same time, on any matter not strictly military, blacks felt that they should have a Counsellor to take care of their interests.<sup>45</sup> Moton worked for black participation in the Red Cross units and auxiliaries, and interceded with President Wilson on behalf of Charles Young, the most senior black officer in the U.S. Army, whom it was felt was the object of outrageous discrimination.<sup>46</sup> Despite his good work earlier in the war, by its conclusion Moton had earned the opprobrium of the more militant black leaders for his optimistic white-washing of the treatment of black troops in France. In the true Tuskegee spirit, Moton concluded that there was no material difference in the physical condition of the two races, or in their food or lodgings, that health and spirits were generally satisfactory, although the men were anxious to come home; that black troops had performed better under white officers than under black, who had "lacked initiative (according to their white officers). He did however notice a very guarded reluctance among blacks to express their feelings, and when they did all grievances were usually ascribed to

---

45. Confidential Memo to the Secretary of War, 1917. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

46. R.R. Moton to G.F. Peabody, Nov. 30, 1917; W. Wilson to Moton, 9 July, 1917. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

race prejudice levelled particularly at Negro officers.<sup>47.</sup>

302.

The suggestion for a black appointee to the War Department was met by the designation of Emmett J. Scott as Special Assistant and Advisor to the Secretary of War. It was considered a national and racial honour, especially in view of the Administration's past record on blacks.<sup>48.</sup> On the other hand DuBois expected to be commissioned and to join the Military Intelligence Bureau for service during the War, where he would have been associated with Major Spingarn:-

"in a constructive attempt to guide Negro public opinion by removing pressing grievances of colored folk which hinder the prosecution of the war." <sup>49.</sup>

This attempt to work from within the system never came to fruition.

It was more of a challenge to the Talented Tenth to secure equality for both black officers and the rank-and-file, than to obtain token appointments for themselves. The bitterness of the Houston incident of 1917, wherein black soldiers were accused of rioting and some sentenced to death or very heavy terms of imprisonment, hung over American entry into the War. In a ghastly and powerful indictment of American racism, Archibald Grimké poured out his feelings in poetry:-

"She hanged them for doing for themselves what she ought to have  
done for them,  
She hanged them for resenting insult to her uniform,  
She hanged them for defending from violence her brave black  
soldiers  
Loyal to the last they were, and obedient."<sup>50.</sup>

However the less radical press cast this aside, praising the new black recruits and advocating unity, at least temporarily. The poetry was not

---

47. Negro Soldiers, World War 1, General Summary, R.R.M. Mss. TI.

48. Tuskegee Student, Oct.13,1917, p.2.  
R.R.Moton to N.D.Baker, Sept.12,1917. G.F.P. Mss. L.C.

49. W.E.B.DuBois to G.W.Cook, July 1,1918, G.W.C. Mss. HU.

50. A.H.Grimké, 'Her Thirteen Black Soldiers' Messenger, Vol.11 (Oct.1919), p.25.



necessarily good, but it conveyed all the appropriate sentiments.

"These truly are the Brave,  
These men who cast aside  
Old memories, to walk the blood-stained pave  
Of Sacrifice, joining the solemn tide  
That moves away, to suffer and to die  
For Freedom - when their own is yet denied!  
O Pride! O Prejudice! When they pass by  
Hail them, the Brave, for you now crucified!"<sup>51</sup>.

Newton Baker did not feel that racial questions were really his concern, but he conceded the political realities in his appointment of Scott, and by means of an open letter to the latter he laid down War Department policy towards coloured soldiers. Baker's "Square Deal" Policy stated that both races manned service battalions, that more than half of those who completed the course at Des Moines, Iowa, had already been commissioned, as had 100 black physicians and surgeons. While the black 92nd Division had been detailed for duty under General Pershing. Inter-racial relations in the camps were reported as good, and "sad misunderstandings" such as Houston and East St. Louis as the work of malicious, unpatriotic trouble-makers. An army of both black and white was setting sail to defeat the enemies of freedom and democracy.<sup>52</sup> Scott went to great pains to show that Baker meant what he said, that the disquieting reports from the front were unfounded, and to prove that justifiable complaints were dealt with.<sup>53</sup> Despite his efforts, the N.A.A.C.P. maintained their vigilance against discrimination in the draft and in the camps,<sup>54</sup> protesting to the Secretary of War about the unfortunate effect on racial morale of colour discrimination in the draft; of the fact that coloured men were not allowed to volunteer for the regular army, and that the artillery, aviation corps and navy were closed to them; of the suspicion that blacks were being drafted only for labour and service battalions; of

---

51. R.Jamieson, 'Negro Soldiers,' New York Age, Sept.13,1917, p.4.

52. Open Letter, N.D.Baker to E.J.Scott, Nov.30,1917, in Tuskegee Student, Dec.8,1917, p.1.

53. Tuskegee Student, Aug.17,1918, p.1.

54. Minutes, Board of Directors, April 9,1917, N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.



discrimination in the training camps; of the refusal to open a second camp for coloured officers and the long delay in establishing Des Moines and in the granting of commissions; of the "retirement" of Colonel Young; and of the vacillation in the treatment of coloured units of the National Guard.<sup>55.</sup>

The establishment of a training camp for black officers at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, initiated largely through the efforts of J.E.Spingarn, was the subject of some controversy in black America. Interestingly, simultaneous to the activities of Spingarn, J.Milton Waldron and representatives of his Committee of 100 were petitioning Baker and Wilson for exactly the same proposal. Formed from the Central Committee of Negro College Men, this committee united graduates of Howard, Atlanta, Fisk and Virginia Union Universities, with those from Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, and such was their desire to train officers, despite segregation, that Howard, Hampton and Tuskegee all offered the use of their facilities.<sup>56.</sup> In spite of these parallel efforts on black initiative, Spingarn was the principal target of the mixed black reactions. J.Q.Adams of the St.Paul Appeal felt that the Major had done the race "incalculable harm" by his "mistaken zeal", which despite black support, only strengthened the barriers of segregation,<sup>57.</sup> but George J. Austin congratulated Spingarn on bringing about the only possible chance for educated Negroes to learn the art and science of war.<sup>58.</sup> William Bulkley, pragmatic as ever, acquiesced in the segregation of camps, without "endorsing, condoning or palliating race prejudice," and in the need for all citizens to fight for their

55. Minutes, Board of Directors, Oct.8,1917, N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

56. N.D.Baker to W.Wilson, May 17,1917; J.M.Waldron and M.Gregory to W.Wilson, May 11,1917; Waldron to Wilson, Apr.12,1917, W.W. Mss. L.C.

57. J.Q.Adams to J.E.Spingarn, May,1917. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

58. G.L.Austin to J.E.Spingarn, Jan.4,1914. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

country, even when it tolerated injustices such as those

59.

heaped upon the Afro-Americans. It was the fear that a separate camp gave even tacit approval to segregation that made many blacks sceptical about its efficiency. A lawyer, George Crawford, felt it was better to endure temporary disadvantages than to yield a principle that may in the long term prove even more disadvantageous, although he did not wish to

60.

seem "foolishly theoretical." The proposal was at first bitterly condemned

61.

in the coloured press, to such an extent that Spingarn made it clear that the N.A.A.C.P. was in no way concerned in this matter, which was his

project. He was prepared to resign from the Chairmanship of the Board if

62.

it considered that his other activities jeopardized the Association's work.

This ambivalent black reaction to a segregated camp showed the difficulties

of coping in realistic terms with such situations. The acceptance of

segregation gave the concrete fact of the training of coloured officers,

with all that that implied in terms of deployment in the field, but at

the same time it meant the acceptance of, or at least acquiescence in,

a detestable principle, and may even have set a precedent of opportunism.

The rejection of segregated camps meant not only the impossibility of

trained and commissioned black officers, but could not even guarantee

to produce any long term gains. Integrity, both personal and racial

would be unblemished, yet no-one could be certain that it would not be

only the blacks who suffered by cutting themselves off from these

opportunities. It was a recurring dilemma in many and varied

59. W.L. Bulkley to J.E.Spingarn, Mar. 12, 1917. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

60. G.W. Crawford to J.E.Spingarn, Mar. 3, 1917. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

61. R.Nash to N.D.Baker, April 19,1917. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

62. J.E.Spingarn to A.H.Griaké, April 13,1917. J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

issues - principle or pragmatism, which would ultimately be of most benefit?

Even during the course of the war, the advisability of recording the part played by blacks became apparent. Daniel Murray suggested to John E. Bruce that a Commission, perhaps of themselves, Schomburg, Woodson and DuBois should be created by the Government to

"gather all items and advertise such information as will enable the part sustained by the Colored Soldiers to be preserved and transmitted to later generations."<sup>63</sup>.

The Official History was however compiled by Scott. In spite of his Tuskegee background, Scott stated quite categorically that conditions in the U.S. were far from ideal. He asserted that the Great War had its roots in racial hatred and international rivalry between the peoples and rulers of the different European countries. At the same time in America there were racial disturbances, on which German propaganda had seized. His own position, suggested to Baker by Moton, had been delicate; the appointment was never intended to be a cure for all the racial ills of America, and many manifestly unfair expectations were of course unfulfilled. He claimed that he never minimized any wrongs nor condoned any injustices, nor did he act as an apologist, but directed his efforts to secure the best results obtainable out of each situation. He was pleased with the conservatism of the established black press, although they upheld their principles, and with the conspicuous success of the food conservation programme under Dr. Haynes on the home front. Scott recognised that a new racial consciousness had developed, bringing to blacks a recognition not only of their duties as citizens, but of their rights and privileges as citizens of the U.S.<sup>64</sup>.

---

63. D.Murray to J.E.Bruce, May 15, 1918 - J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

64. E.J.Scott, Scott's Official History of the Negro in the World War. (New York 1969), pp.23;40-50;361-76.

This was a new departure for many of the black intellectuals who had previously been in the Tuskegee orbit; in their rhetoric, too, 'rights' now took precedence over 'duties' and a militant black pride was seen as a positive good.

Scott furthermore laid down a list of black demands; having fulfilled the obligations of citizenship, if these demands were not met, blacks would feel that they had fought in vain. This catalogue was not new - justice in the courts; an end to lynching; the right to serve on juries, vote and hold office; universal suffrage; better education; an end to 'Jim-Crow' and segregation in government departments; equal military training and promotion; the destruction of peonage; an economic wage scale for both races; better housing and sanitary conditions; and penal reform. Scott feared the recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan and the belief of the South that blacks who had tasted democracy in France would now no longer submit to their pre-war treatment, and he pointed out that segregation and lynching were still rampant. He felt that there were signs of hope in the North, despite the migration and the riots, whereas the South had not basically reformed. The returning black soldier "bore grievously" his treatment in the United States; having fought for democracy abroad, it did not seem unreasonable to expect as much at home.<sup>65</sup>

Kelly Miller observed that the Afro-American had come to the aid of a suffering Belgium, forgetting the sins of the fathers, feeling only sympathy at seeing another people reduced to his status. Miller lacked the perception of either Scott or DuBois, but he did chart the development of the black problem from being sectional, to national, and then inter-national. Not only had the black man fighting overseas gained new stature and self-respect, but to satisfy world liberal sentiment, he

---

65. *Ibid.*, pp.459-69.



anticipated a new racial autonomy in America, for a durable peace required the eradication of racial prejudice.<sup>66.</sup>

Despite earlier plans to co-operate with other authors, nothing definite came out of DuBois' appeal to pool resources and unite the effort to collate, analyse and record the scale of black participation in the war.<sup>67.</sup> His plans involved the immediate collection of material in an attempt to present the case of the World's Darker Races to the enlightened public opinion of Europe, and to understand and interpret the general attitude of the world to its social problems.<sup>68.</sup> His description of conditions in France differs significantly from those of Scott and Moten, but more in interpretation and emphasis than on questions of fact. He claimed black soldiers were disillusioned by American racial prejudice and "nigger-hating" by segregation within the draft, by the secondment of anti-Negro Southern white officers and by harsh and unfair treatment. When nearly 1000 black officers were commissioned, a persistent campaign was launched by their white counterparts to discredit both them and the black rank-and-file, to spread race prejudice in France and to keep blacks out of the Regular Army. Ill-feeling was engendered by the treatment of Col. Young, and the use of the 92nd and 93rd divisions of black troops as dumping grounds for incompetent white officers. Initial prejudice was reinforced in many ways - bad training, picking the poorest blacks to sit tests to make failure conspicuous, and the use of court martials for trivial offences. The attempt to force American racial mores on a nation which owed its salvation to black West Africa was an abject failure, whereas

---

66. K. Miller, The Negroes' Part in the War (Washington, DC, 1919), pp. 548-54.

67. Minutes, Board of Directors, Nov. 11, 1918. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. LC.

68. Memo, Minutes, Board of Directors, Feb. 10, 1919, N.A.A.C.P. Mss. LC



it exposed the blacks to the double experience of deliberate prosecution by their own countrymen, and a taste of real, foreign democracy.<sup>69.</sup>

DuBois had no doubt that in 1917 hundreds of thousands of blacks would have been ready to revolt, had wise counsel not prevailed. The very fact of the draft was an admission of black citizenship, although black participation had been unconditional.<sup>70.</sup> DuBois commentary on the War was not however confined to black involvement and interests. He tried to place it in a wider context, which for him was the colour problem. He suggested that the white world had exposed its soul, not its folly:-

"This is not Europe gone mad; this is not aberration nor insanity; this is Europe; this seeming Terrible is the real soul of white culture - back of all culture - stripped and visible today."<sup>70.</sup>

The cause of war was preparation for war, and of all that Europe had done in the past century, nothing equalled her preparation for war in energy, thought and time. But this was nothing compared with the coming holocaust when black, brown and yellow would fight for their freedom unless their oppression, humiliation and insult at white hands ceased.<sup>71.</sup> DuBois had linked together indissolubly in black thought the twin strands of race prejudice and imperialism and war.

The war was no sooner over than there arose the problems of peace. Those who were most instrumental in the Second Reconstruction were those with access to influential whites, among whom Moton loomed large. The topic was certainly widely and fully discussed, but the old methods

69. W.E.B.DuBois, 'An Essay Toward A History of the Black Man in the Great War,' Crisis, Vol.18 (June,1919), pp.63-64.

70. W.E.B.DuBois, The Black Man and the Wounded World, Ms. W.E.B.D. Mss. Fisk

71. DuBois, Darkwater, pp.39-49.

were used to meet the new crisis. A Conference was called at Hampton Institute for December 7, 1918, to discuss the useful reintegration of black soldiers into civilian life, the best way to keep rural blacks on the farms, the next steps in black education, how to secure inter-racial co-operation and how best to promote sympathy, justice, faith, hope, charity, and patience.<sup>72</sup> Moton himself was more interested in securing an Afro-American representative to the Peace Conference at Versailles, for, to protect Belgium and Serbia while leaving the blacks at home unguarded, meant at best only a "temporary peace."<sup>73</sup> He himself had been one of the Liberian representatives, although he would have liked an American Negro as well, to exploit all the possibilities.<sup>74</sup> Moton also had a three-pronged economic programme for black reconstruction, aimed at the N.N.B.L: an organized Negro press to solicit advertising; a strong organization of Local and State business Leagues, and closer co-operation with farmers in the marketing of farm products; and the establishment of a fund to help ambitious young black entrepreneurs. A call to use "energy, push and foresight"<sup>75</sup> and these three rather unimaginative proposals did not start to unravel the web of black socio-economic problems. Moton had apparently little or no conception of the overall dimensions of the problem, yet his was one of the most influential voices.

The National Urban League took a more practical approach. Part of their war effort had been directed to increase food production and conservation, and to emphasizing the pre-eminence of the farmer as

72. J.E.Gregg to R.R.Moton, Nov.26,1918. R.R.M. Mss. T.I.

73. R.R.Moton to G.F.Peabody, Nov.13,1918. 'Very Confidential', R R.M. Mss. T.I.

74. R.R.Moton to G.F.Peabody, Jan.19,1919, G.F.P. Mss. LC.

75. Tuskegee Student, Sept.7, 1918, p.1.

"the soldier in the field", but the peace-time drive centred more on the urban industrial centres, where they had been active in re-orienting migrants.<sup>76.</sup> Jesse O. Thomas personally felt the need for renewed spiritual leadership, meaning he expected the ministry to co-operate with the agencies of social and economic reconstruction, and ask their congregations to register at the U.S. Employment Service Office. He had a clear idea of what constituted "essential industry" and its priority.<sup>77.</sup> George Haynes who was directly concerned with problems of labour and employment, forecast a re-evaluation of black labour by Southern employers. With a consciousness of their own mobility had come a new black awareness of their economic value as workers and a new conception of the dignity of labour, all of which would have a lasting impact on industrial relations. The economic adjustment of the Negro had three aspects - the landless peasants, the industrial workers, and relations with white working men, while federal government aid was needed for education. Haynes felt that living and neighbourhood conditions, both urban and rural, were a priority, while the public press (ie. white) should be encouraged to give publicity to black achievement and racial co-operation. He saw reconstruction as an experiment in democratic race adjustment, from which Afro-Americans could bring peace and goodwill to the darker peoples of the world, but the essence lay in white ability to maintain a liberal nation-wide policy.<sup>78.</sup>

Kelly Miller did not really deal with the international ramifications of Reconstruction; rather he concentrated on the obligation of ethical

76. Letter to the State, Oct.25,1917.J.O.T. Mss. in N.U.L. Mss. L.C.

77. Ms. no date, 1918-19.J.O.T. file, N.U.L. Mss. L.C.

78. G.E.Haynes, 'The Negro in National Reconstruction' Public, Vol.22 (Feb.1919), pp.131-3.

consistency on the Allied nations to live up to the doctrines they had espoused to meet a great moral emergency. He was more esoteric than most, postulating that the only worth-while Reconstruction was in the reconstruction of thought, in a changed attitude of mind. If the spirit of democracy prevailed, the statutes would take care of themselves. He felt that all true leadership had to be autochthonous, that the Negro should not expect to be the subject of special legislation, but simply included in a programme of social justice. The contest which the black was to wage incessantly was not a conflict that would result in the destruction of the social fabric of which he forms a part, but would rather lead to a fulfilment of its declared aims and ideals.<sup>79</sup> Miller worked on the principle that right would and must eventually triumph, - the trauma and ordeals of recent years had not affected his outlook. But rather than the product of idealism or intellect, his philosophy can be seen as that of desperate ideological bankruptcy; incapable of planning action, yet compelled to say something, he reverted to a process of the inevitability of justice.

The slogans of Kantianism overflowed into the postwar writings of Alexander Grimké, who talked of "the categorical imperative of the new reconstruction."<sup>80</sup> The concepts of "reason in action," a priori truths and categorical imperatives were not used with reference to the strict logic of Kant - they were employed as rhetorical slogans which supposedly gave an impressive philosophical air. Drawing their vocabulary from the philosophers of the European Enlightenment and largely ignoring subsequent intellectual developments, the Talented Tenth were not equipped to meet the situation with which they were confronted in both philosophical and practical terms.

---

79. K. Miller, 'The Negro in the New Reconstruction' (Washington, DC, 1919), pp. 1-24.

80. Speech at the Reconstruction and Readjustment Conference, 1919. A.H.G. Mss. H.U.



The approach the Talented Tenth had adopted to the Negro problem within the United States was reinforced and sanctioned by the ideas of Progressivism; the Talented Tenth in fact echoed and adopted the Progressive attitudes to social questions. On the international front they discussed American and European colonialism, distinguishing between imperialism and expansionism, yet viewing the issue primarily from a racial point of view. Race was also central to Pan-Africanism: although the Talented Tenth had various interests in Africa, they did not unite on any one approach to Pan-Africanism. It was the War rather than the debate on Imperialism which brought the black problem in the United States into the international arena, uniting both domestic and foreign issues, and forcing the Talented Tenth to see its situation in a wider perspective. However in both war and peace, racial considerations predominated, and although the old methods and ideologies were drafted to meet the new and changed situation, it was increasingly apparent by 1919 that the Talented Tenth would have to readjust radically if they were to cope with post-war America.



THE TALENTED TENTH AS THEORIZERS OF THE BLACK SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

From the foregoing chapters, it would seem that the Talented Tenth were not very successful as social theorists. Their role in all things was practical as much as philosophical, and in this they were the agents of the interpretation and transmission of black culture, not just to blacks, but to a dual audience. The Talented Tenth had the unenviable task of presenting blacks to whites in a favourable light, and of explaining whites to blacks, in a manner that would facilitate black adjustment to their position in American society.

Blacks could never control the treatment of their race in the white press. Newspapers and periodicals differed widely in their editorial policies in this respect. The incidents in which Harper's Magazine mentioned the black in an unfavourable light far exceeded those mentioning him in a favourable or even neutral light, thus helping to shape negative racial attitudes among its readership, which was drawn from the upper socio-economic and intellectual levels of white society. On the other hand, journals like the Atlantic Monthly acknowledged the social problems with mild, muckraking articles, and presented a reasonably objective analysis of the over-all race problem, stimulating thought and discussion and having a positive effect on white racial attitudes.<sup>2</sup> DuBois, Washington and A. Grimké all contributed, the latter with a very important article entitled 'Why Disfranchisement is Bad,' Washington commenting on the

- 
1. L.M. Bott, The Negro As Displayed in Harper's Magazine, 1901-24 (M.A., Howard, 1951), pp.217-221.
  2. D.D.Davis, The Negro As Portrayed in the Atlantic Monthly, 1901-12 (M.A., Howard, 1954), pp.27;113.

benefits to be derived from industrial education, while DuBois was allowed to present more incendiary work.<sup>3.</sup>

Few white newspapers were as liberal towards blacks as the staunchly Republican Boston Evening Transcript, an élite paper which nevertheless spoke out frequently on behalf of the ordinary people. Unlike many Northern journals, it refused to sanction black disfranchisement, nor did it favour the elimination of the Negro from Republican politics.<sup>4.</sup> The Transcript was surprisingly sympathetic to Trotter's radical antics, although it deplored all forms of violence and it printed articles by Kelly Miller in 1902 which set out a "trickle down" theory of culture - the black élite would assimilate the dominant mores and hand these on to the masses. In sharp contrast was the editorial policy of the influential New York Times, wherein blacks were described in such opprobrious terms as 'darky' or 'coon,' or in harmful stereotypes like 'razor-toting Negro,' while crude 'Negro dialect' was not infrequently used in news stories. The Times was conservative and Democratic, and favoured a strong, Lily-White Republican movement in the South. It lavished praise on Booker T. Washington, denounced Trotter and largely ignored DuBois; it devoted little space to black business enterprise and to black labour, and could have considerably extended its coverage of the more militant blacks and their efforts on behalf of higher education. It devoted significant space to Hampton and Tuskegee, but comparatively little

---

3. A.H.Griske, 'Why Disfranchisement is Bad,' Atlantic Monthly, Vol.94 (1904), pp.72-81.

B.T. Washington, 'The Fruits of Industrial Training,' Atlantic Monthly Vol.92 (1903), pp.453-62.

W.E.B. DuBois, 'Of the Training of Black Men,' Atlantic Monthly Vol.90 (1902), pp.287-97.

4. H.M.Rice, The Negro As Portrayed in the Boston Evening Transcript (M.A., Howard, 1951), pp.6-13; 32-36.

to Howard, Lincoln, Fisk or Meharry.<sup>5</sup> Yet its policies of printing "All the news fit to print" did cover blacks fairly extensively, noticing that opposition to Washington was building up, even defending Roosevelt's right to confer with whom he chose over dinner, and eventually admitting that not all Afro-Americans accepted the doctrines of accommodation. After 1911 the N.A.A.C.P. appeared increasingly in the pages of the Times, while it also recorded the emigration schemes which it strongly opposed.<sup>6</sup>

Blacks were totally dependent on editorial generosity if they wished to refute any allegations about their race in the white press, while to a certain extent, many editors were in turn dependent on the prejudices of their readership. Periodicals were supposedly able to give more reasoned, reflective opinions to a selective audience. The Nation coped with blacks mostly in editorials, pandering to both sections by disapproval of social equality in the South, yet praising the success of the migrants to Northern cities.<sup>7</sup> It preferred to write on behalf of Afro-Americans rather than pay them as contributors. Blacks could not complain of their treatment by the Independent which employed contributors of both races to expound on the race problem and to explain the black way of life to its white readers. W.E.B. DuBois was among the most frequent of the black authors, his articles ranging from the opening of a Library in Atlanta, Georgia, to problems of Reconstruction, to the burden of Negro schooling, while Ida B. Wells-Barnett presented the blacks' case for justice. It also published the Tuskegee view, often carrying articles by both Washington and DuBois in the same volume, and

5. E.A.Toppin, The American Negro, 1901-21, as Portrayed in the New York Times (M.A., Howard, 1950), pp.10;114-118; 85.

6. New York Times, Jan.9,1904, p.I; Nov.16,1915, ed.; Dec.18,1906, p.5; June 4,1903, p.6.

7. Nation, Vol.76 (April,1903), p.324; Vol.81 (Oct.1905), pp.273-4.

it was from the pages of the Independent that William English Walling's famous article, 'The Race War in the North' first burst upon the American public. The Independent was prepared to be controversial, presenting the plight of the black woman and even discussing the vexed question of racial inter-marriage.<sup>8</sup>

In the earlier years of the twentieth century, the Outlook tried to shed light on race relations in the U.S., favouring the advocates of Industrial Education. It used contributions from Washington and his white friends like H.B. Frissell, and although staunchly supporting Washington, it did explain the position of DuBois and his associates. It commented on black women's club life and presidential policy towards blacks, and despite its belief in Tuskegee, it published DuBois' article on 'The Training of Negroes for Social Power' in which he pointed out the consequences of black self-help. He later explained the platform of the Niagara Movement. The Outlook was apparently tiring of the debate on the Negro problem by 1906, but it continued to print letters and editorials on the subject. The increase of black militancy and the waning of Booker T. Washington paralleled a decline in the Outlook's interest, or at least its willingness to publicize the Negro problem any further.<sup>9</sup>

Many periodicals were ambivalent in their attitudes. McClure's Magazine carried articles in 1904 by both Carl Schurz and Thomas Nelson Page, but was reluctant to let blacks speak for themselves.<sup>10</sup>

---

8. Independent, Vol.54,(1902), pp.809-10; Vol.53,(1901), p.2709; 1667-8; Vol.52,(1901), pp.1010-11; Vol.59,(1905), pp.1316-7; Vol.67,(1909) pp.731-2;917-8;1195-9; Vol.65,(1908), pp.442-3;529-34; Vol.69,(1910), pp.812-3. See also chapter 6.

9. Outlook, Vol.74,(1903), pp.632-5;937-9;214-6; Vol.76,(1904),pp.439-40; 271-4; Vol.72,(1902), pp.759-60; Vol.75, (1903), pp.409-14; Vol.71, (1902), pp.326-33; Vol.73,(1903), pp.292-305; Vol.84,(1906), pp.3-4.

10. McClure's Magazine, Vol.22,(1904), pp.259-75; 548-554.

Charities took a direct interest in social work, employing DuBois to explain the purposes and proceedings of the Atlanta Conferences to its readers,<sup>11</sup> but Century preferred a Washingtonian analysis of black progress, his quaint stories and his reassuring optimism, although readers could not fail to notice gentle warnings by 1912.<sup>12</sup> The Dial published Kelly Miller's articles on the 'Functions of a Negro College,' thus giving the Talented Tenth a chance to explain its position.<sup>13</sup> The literary magazines also encouraged certain members of the Talented Tenth. The Critic carried Charles W. Chesnutt's denunciation of William Hannibal Thomas,<sup>14</sup> while Forum was concerned largely with the problems of black education, carrying lengthy articles by W.S. Scarborough and Kelly Miller on black education and higher learning.<sup>15</sup> The Literary Digest commented on the beginnings of a Negro Drama,<sup>16</sup> but the North American Review was prepared to expose its readers to Atkinson's 'The Negro A Beast', even if it did allow Washington to suggest that education might solve the race question.<sup>17</sup> World's Work encouraged Washington's contributions and advice to his race, printing his glowing accounts of the N.N.B.L. It did print one article by DuBois that emphasised the ignorance of the ex-slaves and their difficulties, rather than their achievements, and selected as a representative black autobiographical sketch a

11. Charities, Vol.1V (1903), pp.435-9.

12. Century, Vol.66 (1903), pp.724-9; Vol.60 (1900), pp.630-2; Vol.59 (1900), pp.472-8; Vol.85 (1912), pp.46-55.

13. Dial, Vol.32 (1902), pp.267-70.

14. The Critic, Vol.38 (1901), pp.350-1.

15. Forum, Vol.33 (1902), pp.349-55; Vol.30, (1901), pp.693-705.

16. Literary Digest, Vol.48 (1914), p.1114.

17. North American Review, Vol.181 (1905), pp.202-15; Vol.171, (1900), pp.221-32.



life story of W.H. Holtzclaw. Its commentary on the advent of Marcus Garvey was in the same vein - it preferred to reassure the public that the real black leaders were the successors of Booker T. Washington, and not the Negro nationalists,"<sup>18</sup>. Some of the more specialized journals accepted articles by blacks. DuBois was a contributor to the A.A.A.P.S.B., whereas A.F. Hilyer wrote for Political Science Monthly on higher education, and the Atlanta Studies were reviewed by Political Science Quarterly. The Educational Review accepted Miller's summary of forty years of black education, in which he tried to point out the diversity within the black race and the need of education to help the individual grapple with society. The American Journal of Sociology published Monroe Nathan Work's study of black crime in Chicago, which related criminality to environment, but he also contributed to the Survey, after he had gone to Tuskegee and espoused its ideology. The Survey also published an account by DuBois of the National Negro Conference of 1909, and articles by G.E. Haynes on Race Adjustment and W.E.B. DuBois on the social effects of Emancipation. At the same time it accepted sympathetic articles on blacks from Mary White Ovington, and vitriol from Ida B. Wells-Barnett on the country's lynching record.<sup>19</sup> The Missionary Review of the World let William Pickens eulogize the activities of Talladega College and it reported the International Congress

---

18. World's Work, Vol.2,(1901), pp.961-971; Vol.16,(1903), pp.3731-51; Vol.14,(1902), pp.2671-5; Vol.12,(1901), pp.848-66; Vol.22,(1906), pp.7989-95; Vol.41,(1921), pp.435-6;153-166.

19. Popular Science Monthly, Vol.57,(1900), pp.437-8.  
Political Science Quarterly, Vol.19,(1904), pp.699-701; 702-3.  
American Journal of Sociology, Vol.6, (1900-01) pp.204-213.  
Educational Review, Vol.36,(1908), pp.434-98.  
Survey, Vol.22,(1909),pp.616-8;407-9. Vol.29,(1912), pp.569-70; pp.570-3;573-4; Vol.28,(1912), pp.318-20; Vol.30,(1913), p.322.

on the Negro at Tuskegee, in 1912, and a convention held under the joint auspices of the Edinburgh Conference Continuation Committee and the Y.M.C.A. in Atlanta, in 1914.<sup>20</sup>

From this brief sketch of the types of articles accepted by white periodicals, written by blacks on their problems, it is more than apparent that Washington had easy access to the white literary world, although DuBois came a close second. However certainly until 1906, the white press preferred Tuskegee-slanted articles, whether written by Washington personally or by one of his acknowledged disciples. DuBois had entrée to the scientific or more learned journals because of his high academic standing, but he could not always publish in such strong terms as he might have liked. Kelly Miller and Archibald Grimké were known to the whites who read the periodicals, and Mrs. Barnett occasionally had her work reprinted in the white press, although she did tend to cling overmuch to the one issue, lynching. C.W. Chesnutt and W.S. Scarborough were able to write for the literary journals on the basis of their recognized artistic talent, yet most other blacks, despite their talents or their importance within the black community, found it exceptionally difficult to gain access to the white press. Several managed on rare occasions, but only a few accomplished anything on a regular basis. Many white editors opted for the offerings of sympathetic white liberals rather than those of the blacks themselves. Also, whereas many blacks read white periodicals, the converse was rarely true, so that blacks writing in the white press had the very difficult task of presenting their race to whites in a language and style they could accept, in attempts to win both their sympathy and their respect, without jeopardizing their status as intra-racial leaders.

---

20. Missionary Review of the World, Vol.28 (1905), pp.434-8. Vol.35 (1912), pp.440-445; Vol.37 (1914), pp.481-2.

If the use of the press was one way to impress the white race, still another was the constant display of respectability and morality. Many blacks would have agreed with Mary Dickerson Donahay's obituary on Charles Waddell Chesnutt:-

"Mr. Chesnutt did an enormous service to his race. Not so much by his fine literary work or by the social and personal position he won, but just by the fact that always, upon every occasion, he was a gentleman."<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the bourgeois predilections of so many of the Talented Tenth, this was nevertheless an unfortunate denigration of the skill of Chesnutt and others in using literature and art as propaganda in the race war. Their achievements had a dual role; in themselves they proved that blacks were capable of the refinements of civilization, of being creative as well as imitative, and simultaneously the content of their writings was charged with propaganda. Prior to the World War, most black novelists expressed a spirit of tolerance and patience rather than one of exasperation and retaliation, condemning prejudice in either race, and within the black race, when manifested by one group of blacks against another, approving of race pride and patriotism, and eulogizing class differentiation and colour diversity within the black group.<sup>22</sup> In the period before the Harlem Renaissance, black writers were all too aware of the problems confronting them, especially that of the double audience. This was a tremendous test of skill and ability but works of art were still accomplished. James Weldon Johnson had a recipe for success, but one which confined the black writer to racial subject matter while he

---

21. Chicago Defender, Jan.21,1933, Clipping, J.W.J. Coll., Yale.

22. N.A.Ford, The Contemporary Negro Novel (Boston,1936), pp.19;89.

struggled to attain the universal:-

"The equipped Negro author working at his best in his best known material can achieve this end; but, standing on his racial foundation, he must fashion something that rises above race, and reaches out to the universal in truth and beauty."<sup>23</sup>.

Chesnutt, too, was aware of the dangers of intellectual segregation. He felt that although the vast field of black life was largely unexploited as potential literary source material, which it ought to be, nevertheless, "the world is so wide, and life is such a vast complex", that it was foolishness for the black writer to unduly narrow his scope.<sup>24</sup>.

The question of the importance and degree of race consciousness in black literature has worried critics since the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's, but the concern here is more with the impact of that racial consciousness on black attitudes than its effect on literary style or content. Debate has ranged from whether race consciousness provides meaning for black writing or merely limits it,<sup>25</sup> but it certainly had the effect of cementing race loyalty and identification, so forming a possible basis for group cohesion. Race consciousness did have a segregating effect - making the attainment of universality yet more difficult. At the same time this racialism was a source of inspiration and strength, simultaneously a "philosophy of aesthetics, a creative religion."<sup>26</sup>.

23. J.W. Johnson, 'The Dilemma of the Negro Author,' American Mercury, Vol.25 (1929), p.481.

24. C.W. Chesnutt to B.G.Brawley, Mar.24,1922. B.G.B. Mss. H.U.

25. J.S.Lash, 'The Race Consciousness of the American Negro Author: Toward a Re-examination of an Orthodox Critical Concept,' Social Forces, Vol.28 (1949-50), p.25.

26. C.I.Glicksberg, 'The Alienation of Negro Literature,' Phylon, Vol.XI (1950), p.50.

The dilemma was inexorable - if the black writer developed his racial potentialities he departed from mainstream American cultural norms, yet if he ignored race, imitating the broader culture, he risked destroying his uniqueness and his creative ability. One other difficulty confronting the black author is that in cataloguing white crimes and black grievances, he too often sacrificed art to truth, or indulged in very obvious propaganda, letting an undisguised bitterness creep into his work. He further lacked a helpful audience, both sympathetically and critically.<sup>27</sup> The works of a black writer were often denigrated or praised on the basis of the author's colour, not on the intrinsic merit of his work.

Hugh Gloster concluded that the preponderant use of black subject matter handicapped the black author in at least four important ways - it retarded his grasp of the cosmic, and of the varied experiences of life; it diminished his philosophical perspective; it limited his literary range to the moods and substance of the race within the U.S.; and it helped certain critics and publishers lure him into cultural segregation, by advising him that the black ghetto is his proper milieu, and that the abandonment of black stereotypes was an artistic desertion of the race.<sup>28</sup> Black writers were further confined by the oral nature of literary traditions in Afro-American communities, and seemed unable to appreciate that anyone would be interested in their personal experiences of their reaction to being black in a white man's country. The earlier black writers concentrated so much on idealized characters as to give their cast an air of unreality. Alain Locke observed that this period of writing was "inevitably imitative and marked with a double provincialism

---

27. B.Jackson, 'An Essay in Criticism,' Phylon, Vol.XI (1950), p.328.

28. H.M. Gloster, 'Race and the Negro Writer,' Phylon, Vol.XI (1950), p.369.



of cultural immaturity and a racial sense of subordination.

It ran a one-dimensional gamut from self-pity through sentimental appeal to hortatory moralizing and rhetorical threat. "a child's gamut of tears, sobs, sulks and passionate protest."<sup>29</sup> If little then appeared between 1895 and 1919 in the way of immortal literature, it remains to discuss the function of what was in fact produced.

Certainly blacks considered their literature as a functional and practical commodity. It was agreed that the right purpose of biography was to lead, to teach and to inspire. It would:-

"give hope to the faint heart, promise to the young and undeveloped character, strength to the weak and easily beset ambition, and good cheer to the weary soul upon which has poured a continual stream of bitter disappointment."<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand fiction filled a void left after the brilliancy and renown of the historians, lecturers, ministers, judges and lawyers for some believed that a homely tale told in an unassuming manner would cement the bond of brotherhood among all classes and complexions.<sup>31</sup>

One thing literature and art were apparently unable to do was to bring the writers of the two races together socially,<sup>32</sup> at least before the Harlem visits of Carl van Vechten; such a consideration did not affect the art per se, but the world of black literati was so small that an infusion of new conversation would have been welcome. Booker T. Washington also appreciated the possibilities for racial solidarity latent within a black literature. At Tuskegee, he made a special effort to collect all

29. A.Locke, 'Self-Criticism: The Third Dimension in Culture' Phylon, Vol.XI (1950), p.391

30. Voice of the Negro, Vol.11 (Mar.1905), p.176.

31. Colored American Magazine, Vol.1 (1900), p.198

32. Allen Tate to Thomas Mabry, Jan.20,1932. J.W.J. Coll.,Yale.

the works written by Afro-Americans, so that his students could learn the literary worth of their race.<sup>33</sup> In 1905 Scott suggested to one of Washington's ghost writers, Robert E. Park, that a book of historical anecdotes be collated to show the development of the black man, as part of the general work of building up a 'race consciousness'.<sup>34</sup> Washington also felt that blacks ought to maintain their position in the field of dialect writings, which should be largely a black preserve, but in which they had been losing ground since the death of Paul Lawrence Dunbar.<sup>35</sup>

In fact, including his novels and short stories, far more than half of Dunbar's writing was not in dialect at all, for he realized the limitations of "the broken tongue," but his work does illustrate the tenacity of the dialect tradition at the turn of the century.<sup>36</sup> This use of dialect had the unfortunate effect of isolating the blacks culturally, almost as if they had abandoned all hope of cultural integration, while to whites it emphasized the primitive level of the race.<sup>37</sup> As well as illustrating black life, some of Dunbar's poems were designed to enhance black pride and self-awareness. He wrote eulogies to Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and to Coloured Soldiers while his 'Ode to Ethiopia' was an outright tribute and pledge to race loyalty.<sup>38</sup>

---

33. B.T. Washington to C.W.Chesnutt, Feb.16,1900. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk

34. R.E.Park to E.J.Scott, Mar.3,1905. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

35. B.T. Washington to C.W.Chesnutt, July 9,1908. B.T.W. Mss.L.C.

36. J.S. Redding, To Make A Poet Black. (Chapel Hill,N.C. 1939) pp.58-59

37. M.J.C.Echeruo, 'American Negro Poetry' Phylon, Vol.XXIV (1963),p.63.

38. H.Dreer, American Literature by Negro Authors (New York,1950), pp.28-9  
P.L.Dunbar, The Complete Poems of Paul Lawrence Dunbar (New York 1933), pp.6-7; 50-1;208-9.

W.S. Braithwaite has been described as "the most outstanding example of perverted energy that the period from 1903 to 1917 produced," for he did not turn his poetic talents to racial ends, but to the more traditional materials of love, death, birth, beauty, grief and gladness, developing a dilettantism.<sup>39</sup> His lead and style were followed in the intensely feminine poems of Georgia Douglass Johnson, who also displayed her lyrical skills with little regard to her racial context.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand there were bards like Joseph S. Cotter Snr., who tried to use poetry to expound their racial dogma. In a dialect work 'The Old Negro Teacher to the New' he illustrates how the old-fashioned teacher/prescher, while looked down upon by the new generation of "intellectuals," still knew how to secure generous contributions from the white man. Cotter eulogized abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison in splendid terms, but also produced several versions of the ode, 'Dr. Booker T. Washington to the National Negro Business League,' in which he appeared to support the Tuskegee philosophy. This was again apparent in 'Ned's Psalm of Life for the Negro,' the exponent setting out the conventional wisdom of survival for the oppressed poor black. But Cotter should not be too easily classified, for when he turned from dialect to standard English he adopted a sterner line. 'The Negro's Educational Creed' was neither begging, nor did it couch its arguments in practical terms of self-interest, and

---

39. J.S. Redding, op.cit., pp.89-90.

W.S. Braithwaite, Lyrics of Life and Love (Boston, 1904).

W.S. Braithwaite, The House of Falling Leaves (Boston, 1908).

40. G.D. Johnson, The Heart of a Woman (Boston, 1918).

'Grant and Lee' finally put the question of race prejudice in a national context:-

'The South's the sin? The North's the glory?  
Laugh out of court the hackneyed story.  
The sin took root in the nation's heart,  
And North and South played a dual part.'<sup>41</sup>

However Cotter did express his patriotism and Americanism in the 'Psalm of the Negro Soldier,' an example followed by his son, Joseph S. Cotter, Jr., The younger man, in 'Sonnet to Negro Soldiers,' went further than merely expressing his devotion to duty and to his country - this he did despite the horrors of war, and in the knowledge that soon he would fight on the home front against prejudice. He was more concerned with colour than his father had been, using the theme of the tragic mulatto to illustrate the absurdity of race discrimination, and in a powerful poem, 'Is it because I am Black?' he gave vent to the frustration of being constantly branded by arbitrary rules.<sup>42</sup>

James Weldon Johnson was one of the few to mix really successfully his concern for human and racial rights with his interest in creative expression and form. He realized that the folk expression was a rich source of poetic material and that traditional dialect had not been used as a successful means of interpreting the folk.<sup>43</sup> In 1918 he was hailed as the poet-advocate for the race, meeting the white man's criteria of diction and formalities, and thus presenting the race's case on its own merits, so that it could be judged without apology or sympathy.<sup>44</sup> Johnson challenged the world in his 'America' bringing in a period of protest poetry from which few subsequent poets escaped.

41. J.S.Cotter, Snr, A White Song and a Black One (Louisville, 1909) pp.13;19-20;39;40-3.

J.S.Cotter, Snr, Selected Poems (New York, 1938), pp. 11;43;71.

42. J.S.Cotter, Jr, The Band of Gideon (Boston, 1918), pp.5;14;17.

43. E.W.Collier, 'James Weldon Johnson: Mirror of Change,' Phylon, Vol.XXII (1961), p.354.

44. Tuskegee Student, Jan.26, 1918, p.4.



The poetry of protest was not always of high literary merit, and was frequently published in the black press. One of the major themes was lynching. Raymond Garfield Dandridge expressed the bitterness of the returning troops when confronted with the American scenario,<sup>45</sup> a more sophisticated version of the earlier protests like Charles Fred White's 'Afro-American' which discussed the pollution of American freedom by so many heinous crimes.<sup>46</sup> Much of the poetry on lynching was understandably bitter, but possibly more effective was the pathos of such poems as Mrs. Johnson's 'To My Son,' where she is vexed to know how to rear her child that he might be able to deal with race prejudice, or Will Sexton's 'To My Lost Child,' which in a manner similar to DuBois' prose, 'On the Passing of the First-Born', expressed a grim relief and satisfaction in the early death of the child, which freed it from the pains of growing up black in a white world.<sup>47</sup>

Protest poetry grew up from the consciousness both of oppression and colour. The latter could be seen in DuBois 'A Reckless' and 'The Song of the Smoke,' which both took pride in the fact of blackness,<sup>48</sup> but the protest poem of the pre-1920's must surely be Claude McKay's 'If We Must Die....' wherein he urged militant self-defence. This poem, published in the radical press and cited as evidence of possible sedition by the Department of Justice, was given widespread publicity by the black

45. R. Kerlin, Negro Poets and their Poems (Washington, D.C., 1923), p. 54.

46. Colored American Magazine, Vol. 1, (1900), p. 245.

47. Kerlin, op. cit., pp. 232-3.

W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, pp. 133-37.

48. Horizon (May, 1907), p. 28

A. Chapman, Black Voices, pp. 359-60.



church, being read, for example, from the pulpit of Francis J. Grimké.<sup>49.</sup> It was however written after the War, at a time of increased black self-confidence and racial militancy, and it caught the mood of the 'New Negro.' The Messenger also bravely published Archibald Grimké's poem, 'Thirteen Black Soldiers,'<sup>50.</sup> (which had been rejected by the Crisis as too inflammatory), at a time when most black poets were eulogizing the bravery of their soliders, not condemning their ill-treatment.<sup>51.</sup> Colour and the problems of the mulatto persisted as themes, up to and beyond the war period, yet the themes of Africa and Negritude had to wait for their fulfilment until the full flowering of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920's.<sup>52.</sup>

Pauline Hopkins had commented that the race needed works of "cathartic virtue,"<sup>53.</sup> and to a certain extent the poets and authors of the period 1895-1919 sought to achieve this. Alain Locke had simultaneously appreciated the literary dangers of overemphasizing race. While extolling the richness and variety of Negro life and character, he was passionately concerned that the black artist treat them on the same high level of interpretation and execution as the best artists of other races.<sup>54.</sup> The prelude to the Harlem Renaissance saw the blacks trying to break away from "cultural non-description," a move paralleled in art and literature,

49. Messenger, Vol.11 (Sept.1919), p.4.

50. Messenger, Vol.II (Oct.1919), p.25.

51. New York Age, Sept.13,1917, p.4.

52. F.Johnson, A Little Dreaming (Chicago,1913), pp.39;54.

53. Colored American Magazine, Vol.III (Jan.1902), p.206.

54. W.S.Braithwaite, 'Alain Locke's Relation to the Negro in American Literature,' Phylon, Vol.XVIII (1957-8), p.169.

which suggests that the Harlem Renaissance was the culmination of earlier trends, rather than the beginning of an era of self-expression.<sup>55.</sup> The Harlem Renaissance partially succeeded in bringing about the common consciousness so desperately sought. By 1912, realism was in the ascendancy, providing the antidote to the conventional stereotyping of the earlier romantic attitudes,<sup>56.</sup> and eventually erupting in the post-war period. Race pride and the repudiation of Uncle Tom unified the Harlem Renaissance, symbolizing the New Negro who burst upon the American scene around 1919, but both had their foundations in the pioneering literary efforts of the Talented Tenth in the pre-war years.

Like other forms of literature, the novel was seen as an instrument of propaganda. Charles Chesnutt was possibly the first novelist to be accepted as an artist without qualification being made on account of his racial ancestry. He in fact considered that his work lay "along the line where the two races come together," and that his mission was to delineate the deeper, almost unbelievable aspects of black character, namely the spiritual and ambitious elements of his nature.<sup>57.</sup> He was doing by imagery what Washington and others were doing by oratory, taking Negro life, idealizing it and offering the result as evidence of his case. He tried to illustrate the complex tragedy of Negro life, and being a realist, he did not distort this data.<sup>58.</sup> Chesnutt succeeded in proving that blacks could be the subject of serious aesthetic treatment without the interference of propaganda, and that the black creative artist could submerge himself objectively in his material.<sup>59.</sup> The Marrow of Tradition was hailed

55. J.A.Porter, 'Four Problems in the History of Negro Art,' Journal of Negro History, Vol.XXVII (1942), p.26.

56. M.J.Butcher, The Negro in American Culture (New York,1957) pp.102;130

57. Colored American Magazine (Jan.1902), p.154.

58. Unidentified Clipping, Mar.5,1902, Schomburg Vertical Files.

59. Redding, op.cit., p.69

as "the strongest work of fiction on the race question since the appearance of Uncle Tom's Cabin,"<sup>60.</sup> and it glorified the role of the racial martyr. Josh Green and his party, however, the only ones to behave bravely in a crisis situation, were dead, whereas those who had sought safety lived to tell the tale.<sup>61.</sup> In this work, the underlying dynamics of the conflict between perception and aspiration, epitomized not only his own chief thematic problem, but a pressing issue for the intellectuals of his time. One writer has suggested that this is evidence of the artistic crisis that forced Chesnutt into literary silence.<sup>62.</sup> It dealt with lynching, miscegenation, the problems faced by black professionals in the South, Jim-Crowism, the difference between Northern and Southern attitudes, and the Southern gentleman's affection for his black servants, but it provided no solutions to the Negro's problem of securing civil rights. In The House Behind the Cedars, Chesnutt dealt with the question of passing; in fact throughout all his work ran the suggestion that the mulatto was more worthy than the black of full admission into American society, which was upheld as ideal. Chesnutt had earlier treated black colour consciousness in The Wife of his Youth, dealing with different reactions to mulattoes and miscegenation. The Colonel's Dream dealt with the problems of a typical Reconstruction town and its social evils, and had moved quite a distance from The Conjure Woman, a series of folk stories published in the Atlantic Monthly, wherein a cunning ex-slave, far removed from the fawning stereotype of Thomas Nelson Page, told tales of the tragedy and pathos of the

---

60. New York Age, Nov.21,1901. Clipping H.J.

61. C.W.Anderson to C.W.Chesnutt, Dec.11,1901. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk  
C.W.Chesnutt, The Marrow of Tradition, (New York,1969), p.316.

62. J.M.Reilly, 'The Dilemma in Chesnutt's "The Marrow of Tradition"  
Phylon, Vol.32 (1971), p.32.

old plantation, usually to promote the interest of himself or his friends.<sup>63.</sup>

In sharp contrast was the challenging militancy of Sutton E. Griggs, who had established his own publishing company in Nashville to promote sales among the black masses, making his novels into textbooks of social uplift, (he hoped). It is possible that he was much more widely known among black leaders than among white, because of both the content of his work and his sales policy. He opposed both Washington and the reverence with which blacks regarded him, being adamantly opposed to discrimination and segregation. He was an active member of the Niagara Movement, and by 1910, having studied Darwinism, he was convinced that although blacks were not innately inferior, they were indeed behind in the development of Christian civilization. After 1910, he shifted his emphasis from black rights to white self-interest and set about organizing "welfare leagues" and "social reconstruction" associations in Memphis, enlisting the black clergy in a concerted effort for black self-uplift. He felt both the responsibility and the blame for the present black predicament could be traced to racial failures or deficiencies. His theme was now one of strong accommodationism. He had personally suffered financially at the hands of his race, whereafter he was convinced that the race could not be relied upon to support racial enterprises; he never realized that his literary efforts might have failed on their own demerits.<sup>64.</sup> The Indianapolis Freeman had suggested that all Anglo-Saxons should read The Hindered Hand to arouse them to see conditions as they are, and by 1912, H.M. Browne could suggest to

---

63. H.M.Gloster, Negro Voices in American Fiction (Richmond, Va., 1948), p.35.

64. L.C. Lamon, Negroes in Tennessee, pp.23;32-4.



Washington that they circulate Wisdom's Call, through Mr.

Carnegie's help, to the Southern whites, in order to solve the race

problem.<sup>65</sup> This in itself was a measure of how far Griggs had travelled along the road to accommodationism - that he would ever be praised by the Tuskegans was unthinkable until 1910.

The Autobiography of An Ex-Colored Man by James Weldon Johnson, at first published anonymously in 1912, contained a complex, rational black character, who explained the plight and motivation behind "passing." Park described it as one of the best things to come from the pen of a coloured man, for, although it was fiction, it portrayed things as they actually were.<sup>66</sup> Johnson was able to combine the roles of scholar and author more successfully than DuBois, whose awareness of the polemical powers of fiction led him to write "an ably documented sociological novel."<sup>67</sup>

These are the most famous but by no means the only black novelists of the period 1895 to 1919; neither is there any way of ascertaining how many aspirants never found a publisher. Some works followed the white pattern of publication in serialized form, such as Contending Forces by Pauline Hopkins,<sup>68</sup> whose work set the tone of middle-class gentility later echoed by Jessie Fauset and Nella Larsen. Other novels tended to show idealized black characters, while drawing attention to the social, legal, political and economic injustices in the South, or used tedious dialogue to ram home discussions on racial questions. Little more than propaganda, such novels planned to show the sufferings

---

65. Indianapolis Freeman, Sept. 16, 1905, p. 4.

H.M. Browne to B.T. Washington, April, 10, 1912. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

66. R.E. Park to J.E. Spingarn, July 12, 1912. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

67. Gloster, op.cit., p. 78.

68. Colored American Magazine, (1902).



of the race, particularly the aspiring or the educated, and many at least touched on the theme of the tragic mulatto. The plots were nearly always located in the Southern states, and two strange omissions from a literature designed to inspire racial pride and solidarity were references to the African homeland, or to the military valour of the black soldier in the War. A few short stories on the latter theme appeared in Crisis in the 1920's, yet writers preferred to keep to the old themes and settings.

By the 1920's, general literary style was more polished, and output vastly increased, but the foundations of the Harlem Renaissance had been laid by the pioneers of the Talented Tenth. The literati of the Twenties came from more professional or white-collar backgrounds than their predecessors,<sup>69</sup> sharing their educational and class assumptions. It was not easy in the 1920's to effect even a psychological rapprochement with the masses from whom the Talented Tenth had become adept at differentiating themselves, in fact as well as in their fiction. But racial solidarity was the order of the day. Jessie Fauset expressed the necessity of rendering service to "the unwashed, untutored herd"<sup>70</sup> not so much through racial love as racial pride. This led to a concentration within the Talented Tenth on their own heritage as a source of value and tradition alternative to those of the dominant culture. This drew heavily on the mission ideology of the Talented Tenth, an ideology that boasted that "something" within the black man would redeem the effete West and save Africa. This "something" was never defined, and was perhaps indefinable, being intuitive rather than absolute. The Talented Tenth were looking for something distinctly black, that was preferably neither of slave origin nor distorted. In effect they were

---

69. R.A.Bone, The Negro Novel in America (New Haven, 1958), p.56.

70. J.Fauset, Plum Bun (New York, 1928), p.218.

trying to manufacture a culture and call it a heritage - an attempt doomed to frustration. The black novelists of the pre-Renaissance period had not been isolated from their environment; they spoke on behalf of their class and race. They wanted to make society live up to its professed ideals - not to change those ideals. They were questing for something distinctively African, or at least black, within an American milieu, without rejecting either that milieu or its benefits. They were part of an integrationist ethic, they shared the language and culture of white America, hence they could not produce a distinctive literature if they remained otherwise culturally indistinguishable. It was a choice from which many of the Talented Tenth reneged.

Black literature did foster the growing black ideologies.

Chesnutt had worked on the principle that the first imperative was to get the democratic ideal correct, which demanded putting humanity above race. But he reminded his race of the virtues of the Ancients which he held up to them to follow - justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. He was setting up as 'Race Ideals and Examples' the virtues and ideals of ancient Europeans, not Africans. He did however demonstrate the necessity of co-operation for racial efficiency, and of proving to white America the worth of the educated black. He admitted he would like to lose the concept of race; the example he held before his people was one of European and American traditions perfected and practised, not something African transplanted into the New World.<sup>71</sup> Archibald Grimké insisted that black ideals and ambitions were simply those of the

---

71. C.W.Chesnutt, 'Race Ideals and Examples,' A.M.E.Review, Vol.30 (1913-14), pp.101.  
Race Problems, Speech, Mar.25,1913, Ms. C.W.C. Mss. Fisk.

American white man, even if the doctrine of equality could not break the colour line.<sup>72.</sup> This was echoed by R.H. Terrell, who founded his black ideology on 'The Great American Charter of Liberty' for blacks spoke the same language and worshipped the same God as the white American, therefore it was not surprising that both races thought the same thoughts, shared the same ambitions, dreamt the same dreams and fostered the same ideals. It was a case of making white America live up to the Constitution and Declaration of Independence.<sup>73.</sup>

However this could only be a racial ideal as long as the ideals of the white man were "wholesome and safe," and not the flagrant examples of moral degeneracy that confronted the Negro and which it would have been an obvious mistake for him to have imitated, or tried to emulate. In this case, the Pittsburgh Courier advised its readers, they were "morally bound to turn to our (their) own short history for moral courage and leave the white man to his folly." They were exhorted to set up their own ideals, possibly by a process of elimination, using whatever of good was left in the white brother then supplying the deficiency from other sources.<sup>74.</sup> This was neither anti-white, nor was it uniquely pro-black - it was a plea for a black ideology without any reference to or suggestion of what that ideology might contain.

An alternative to literary propaganda to vindicate the black man's claim to his rights, was scientific "proof." The value of social science in solving or atleast ameliorating the racial question was unchallenged among the Talented Tenth, although they realized it could not settle

72. A.H. Crinké, Negro Ideals and Ambitions, Speech, 1914. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

73. R.H. Terrell, 'The Negro Today,' Speech c.1918. R.H.T. Mss. L.C.

74. Pittsburgh Courier, Jan.20,1912, p.4.



internal problems such as leadership.<sup>75</sup> The faith placed in social science as a corrective force was a slightly more sophisticated corollary of the faith placed in the exposure to public opinion of the evils inflicted upon the race. Kelly Miller put a secondary value on science, claiming that it was of use only in as much as it was predictive, enabling man to adjust himself in harmony to foreseeable events he could neither alter nor control.<sup>76</sup> The Cleveland Gazette was a little sceptical of what it described as "scientific speculative nonsense." It realized that just as "racism" was allegedly scientifically provable, so the "equality of races" was equally liable to scientific jugglery.

"The truth is, the question of race discussion is largely theoretical. The scientist forms his syllogism to suit his way of thinking and not from a deduction of facts"<sup>77</sup>.

This was not an unreasonable inference given the past abuse of the social sciences. Throughout the period 1870 to 1930 the sociological method of proving blacks inferior had consisted of simple assertions based on the sociological perceptions of the society of the time.

Blacks were seen as inferior because whites had antipathies towards them, because of the conditions of black life, and because of black morality and character traits.<sup>78</sup> Given the past experience of the race with social science, it can easily be understood why the Talented Tenth constantly reiterated their justifications for the employment of methods so recently used to condemn the race.

Much reluctance was won over by the success of the Atlanta Conferences and the quality of the Atlanta University publications under the guidance

75. Competitor, Vol.1 (Feb.1920), p.4.

76. K.Miller, Out of the House of Bondage, (New York,1914), p.58.

77. Cleveland Gazette, May 13,1905, p.2.

78. R. Jones, 'Proving Blacks Inferior, 1870-1930' Black World, Vol.XX (1971), p.11.

of W.E.B. DuBois. White critics objected to the intermingling of fact and theories in the monographs, for the racial propaganda could be rather blatant,<sup>79.</sup> when what they actually took issue with was the demonstration of black achievement. DuBois confessed that the idea of holding general meetings to discuss the conditions of blacks was not new, and in fact went back to the 18th century in the meetings of the free African societies in Philadelphia, New York and Newport, which were continued in a series of national conventions beginning in 1831 and going up to the turn of the century. The Atlanta Conference when it met, discussed a theme on which it had a body of fresh, accurate data, hopefully the best obtainable. They started out limited to city problems, in contrast to the Tuskegee Conferences, but soon became comprehensive. The aims were to gather information before building up race pride, to make the inquiry practical and helpful, and to induce the people to apply the remedies suggested to the evils which retarded their progress.<sup>80.</sup> The Atlanta University Conferences were part of DuBois' attempts to formulate coherent sociological methods; he was trying to find a reliable means of observation and measurement, and some enlightening way of systematizing and arranging the mass of accumulated material. Looking at society rather than human action, sociologists were mainly trying to ascertain how much of natural law there was in human conduct. The work of the next fifty years was seen as the bringing together of theory and practice. By reason of colour prejudice and colour, DuBois saw his group as isolated, but by reason of incentive to change, which changes were rapid and

---

79. Political Science Quarterly, Vol.19 (1904), pp.699-701;702-3

80. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Atlanta University Conferences,' Charities, Vol.10 (1903), pp.435-9.



kaleidoscopic, and by reason of their peculiar environment, the action and reaction of sociological forces within the black community could be measured easily. The study of the American Negro was both to enlighten science and inspire philanthropy, for the ignorance of the race about itself was astounding.<sup>81.</sup>

DuBois later admitted that no-one read his magnum opus on The Philadelphia Negro although all treated it with respect, which consoled him. It was as complete as could be, given defective facts and statistics, limited resources and no assistance. He considered that rather than his books or even his work with the N.A.A.C.P. his real life work had been done at Atlanta University.<sup>82.</sup> Having predicted that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line,"<sup>83.</sup> he set out to bring scientific procedures to bear on the social conditions, which he originally conceived as a problem of knowledge. He later decided that such a concept was distorted; science alone could not settle the matter, without the help of force. (This force was not necessarily physical - it could be verbal, ideological or non-violent as well as more vigorous protest.) He saw his scientific work as the measurement and exploration of chance and unreason in human action, which did not yield to thought, but only changed slowly.<sup>84.</sup> He admitted he concentrated on Afro-Americans in particular and Negroes in general rather than the general plight and conditions of all humankind, and that had it not been for the race question, he would have subscribed to the social and economic order of

---

81. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Atlanta Conferences,' Voices of the Negro, Vol.1 (1904), pp.85-9.

82. W.E.B. DuBois, Darkwater, p.20.

83. W.E.B. DuBois, 'The Freedman's Bureau,' Atlantic Monthly, Vol.87 (Mar.1901), p.354.

84. W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York,1940), pp.5-7.

the day. It was difficult to secure any real or exhaustive knowledge of the facts. DuBois entered the intellectual arena at a time when social thinkers were seeking to lay down methods by which in the not too distant future, social law analogous to physical law would be discovered. His work had a utilitarian object in reform and uplift, but he was nevertheless committed to scientific accuracy.<sup>85</sup> DuBois felt that segregation made the black community capable of almost laboratory experiment, yet at the same time he could not be a calm, detached observer while blacks were being lynched and murdered. Also his work was never really in demand in academic circles, still less was it popular, and gradually his role as a scientist was engulfed by his role as a propagandist. All the time DuBois was acting and reacting in his scientific world to the changing social and racial experiences of his personal life; he used those aspects of the new sociology that, applied to his race, showed them in the best possible light. Even during his academic career he was caught on the horns of the perpetual dilemma, between scientific truth, even when it was to the detriment of his racial interests, or racial uplift, even when it was at the modification of scientific accuracy.

While literature and art formulated the basis of a cultural heritage for the Afro-American, history was put to a practical use just as social science was. Beginning in 1896 with DuBois' The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, black historians were primarily concerned with refuting charges of racial inferiority. DuBois and Woodson led the trend which looked to Africa as a background and something of a golden past.<sup>86</sup> Both were academically trained and sought to apply rigorous standards to

---

85. *Ibid.*, pp.19;27-9;51.

86. E.E.Thorpe, Black Historians. (New York,1971), p.70.

the evaluation of historical data. Many black scholars used the prevailing progressive historical assumptions of the day, which were optimistic, within the framework of American values, and integrationist. The major emphasis was on black achievement within a restrictive society and on black efforts to end those restrictions,<sup>87.</sup> an emphasis on gradual, non-revolutionary social change.

For DuBois, the study of history, coincided with the geo-politics of race, but he did lay down a framework for the study of black problems within the U.S. He delineated social problems as the failure of an organized group to realize its group ideals, and the inability of the Negro to escape from his servile caste had turned the problems of the group into problems of family life. He appreciated that many of the race did not reach national social standards with respect to economic condition, mental training or social efficiency, and for this reason it was imperative to assess and trace the historical development of these social forces to ascertain their future trends, if possible. For these purposes, he saw historical study, statistical investigation, anthropological measurement and sociological interpretation as closely interrelated.<sup>88.</sup>

The emphasis on black achievement held dangers that historical studies of the black race would become over-elitist, but much of the historical writing in black periodicals concerned itself with the often anonymous achievements of the race as a whole. A favourite theme was the role of blacks in European and African history, the fact that blacks

---

87. D.W.Hoover in ed. M. Ballard, New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History (London,1970), pp.39-40.

88. H.Isaacs, 'DuBois and Africa,' Race, Vol.11 (1960), p.11.  
 W.E.B.DuBois, 'The Study of Negro Problems,' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol.XI (1898), pp.1-21.

were a fundamental element not only of the primitive races of Southern Europe, but of the civilized races of antiquity as well. Black journalists also favoured the historical interpretation that history could "be said to begin in ancient Egypt."<sup>89</sup> The aim was basically to promote a positive self-image conducive to racial solidarity and to free the black mind from the distortions it had internalized from prejudiced whites. The Colored American Magazine and the Voice of the Negro, but especially the former, carried articles on African history and heroes with precisely this intention.<sup>90</sup> Following this lead Crisis and the Chicago Broadax tried to show that the blacks to whom they referred displayed genius in spite of, not because of, their colour. Ideal examples were Dumas and Pushkin, but the Broadax widened its historical survey to cover not only the heroes of warfare and the heralds of wisdom as did the other journals, but to include the literati as well. Tracing black literary development back beyond the limits of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, John Owens and Irene Gaines cited the Moors in Spain in the 14th and 15th centuries, who were contemporaries of the black scholars in Ghana, Housa, Bernu, Lundi and Katsena. At the same time, Mohammed Koti and Ahmed Baba flourished in the Sudan, the predecessors of Abderrahan es Sadi. They tried to publicize the history of North and West Africa particularly, to suggest that in the African homelands there had developed a culture and complex legal, political and social systems, prior to the incursions of the predatory slave traders.<sup>91</sup> Following in the footsteps of George Washington Williams,

---

89. Richmond Planet, Sept. 19, 1896, p. 1.

90. Colored American Magazine (1900-09).  
Voice of the Negro (1904-06).

91. Crisis (1910-20),  
Chicago Broadax, Feb. 2; 9; April, 27; May 4; 11; 18; 25; 1918.



John Cromwell wrote The Negro in American History in 1914, to testify to the courage, perseverance and progress of the race in the U.S., and to publicize specifically Afro-American heroes.<sup>92</sup> This was published by the American Negro Academy as part of its avowed programme of the revelation of a dignified black past.

The manufacture, establishment or restoration of a racial culture and history held pitfalls and dilemmas of which blacks were not unaware. Alain Locke claimed that any racial historical society was the expression of a practical, avowed duty towards a corporate racial past, one in which the Negro had specific and special problems. He could avoid his historical dilemma, by forgetting or repudiating the past if it seemed wise. On the other hand, the desire to preserve the past committed blacks to a racial consciousness, requiring the development of a sense of corporate interests and destiny. The American Negro stood between two heritages, one lost, the other not fully acquired; the former without definite use, the latter without permanent satisfaction. With intuitive foresight, Locke forecast that in the future the blacks might be as anxious to take advantage of this as they were in his day to escape from it. Intellectual and spiritual problems had different origins from the social, political or economic issues, and would likely require different solutions. He believed that no people could claim "civilization" until it had cultivated its own land, tradition and culture, but he realized that birth gave the Afro-American a claim to a civilization and heritage of ideas that were not his. Thus the cultured Afro-American could find himself in the anomalous position of sharing and participating in a culture that was his by right of acquisition and not by right of inheritance. This distinction did not make the civilization and culture that the blacks claimed any less theirs, but it made it

---

92. J.W.Cromwell, The Negro in American History (Washington, D.C, 1914).



theirs in a different way. Participation in an alien culture justified a certain historic and actual pride of acquisition, and would enable blacks to realize rationally their own position, derivation and allegiances, and to help build up a tradition worthy of united racial loyalties. To date, the black's attitude to his past had been sentimental and mistaken, letting regard for the immediate past blind him to the remote racial past, which stood in need of recovery. America herself could not be sure of her own mental nationality, for behind the traditional uniformities of American life and thought were latent racial traits, the results of cultural amalgamation. Fear that the acknowledgment of the birth claim to ideas would undermine republican claims to free institutions, and fear that a sense of race history and tradition would shift one out of participation in general history could only be indulged by those who understood the trends of American institutions. The resolution of these dilemmas would supposedly prove the possibility of culture by adoption and the possibility of a racial sub-culture not disrupting the nation. Blacks were to accept the burden of being an experiment because of the desire to solve their own cultural problems and to convert insidious distinctions into others rational and respected.<sup>93</sup> Locke was basically pleading for a chance to experiment in cultural pluralism.

It was futile for blacks to deny the effects of cultural amalgamation on the development of their racial ideologies. As previously demonstrated from their earliest school days, blacks absorbed white values and mores, through white text books and equipment. The demands of the democracy they valued could not always be reconciled with the dictates of group advancement,<sup>94</sup> placing blacks in an unending dilemma, but one to which they reacted

---

93. A.Locke, 'The Negro and a Race Tradition,' Pittsburgh Courier, Jan.13,1912, pp.1 and 8.

94. W.E.B.DuBois, 'The Dilemma of the Negro' American Mercury, Vol.111 (1924), p.141.

within the traditions of American thought.<sup>95.</sup> The Talented Tenth adopted providential and justificatory ways of reasoning, searching for legitimacy and a sense of conviction. They were committed to Americanism, just as were all their fellow countrymen, believing in a special dispensation for all things American. They were caught up in the American addiction to the race for success; to opt out of the rat-race was to put oneself outside the American ethos.<sup>96.</sup> Individual American thinkers could be seen to have left their imprint on black thought; Emerson's idea of the intellectual as a man of action inspired the Talented Tenth, while Henry Grady's ideas for the New South are often recognizable in the teachings of Booker T. Washington, thus having both a positive and a negative effect on black racial thought.<sup>97.</sup>

The white American racial creed with most impact on black reasoning was perhaps Social Darwinism, which saw the individual as representative of a biological species whose activities were largely determined by the character of the species.<sup>98.</sup> In 1874, Herbert Spencer invoked Darwin's theory of natural selection to support social evolution and his belief in the "survival of the fittest." This social evolution was a natural, spontaneous process, beyond the interference of man, and the concept of social Darwinism thus resulted from the application of the biological theory of evolution to society.<sup>99.</sup> As Social Darwinists used their arguments to suit their own ends, so did the blacks. Reversing

---

95. E.Ions, Political and Social Thought in America, (London,1970), pp.1-5.

96. L.Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America, (New York,1951), p.221

97. R.B.Nixon, Henry W.Grady, (New York,1943), pp.340-9.

98. M.Banton, Race Relations, (London,1967), p.303.

99. E.S.Page, Social Darwinism in the United States and its Racial Implications, (M.A., Howard,1948), pp.1-10.

the arguments which claimed blacks were inferior because they<sup>346.</sup> were unfit, E.E. Cooper suggested that the race question should in fact be solved by the survival of the fittest, in an open society, for if left alone, society could be trusted to distribute itself. Colour, creed, race and language would all be swallowed up in the eternal force of personal and individual affinity, for legislation and custom built artificial walls that tottered with the breach of reason. Obedience to the natural law would do away with the friction and worries of racial separation which made American life unhappy.<sup>100.</sup> This was not so much idealistic as naive, for it suggested that the vested interests of the oppressor voluntarily dissolve themselves to test if the supposedly inferior races could compete.

To compete for survival among the fittest, the black had first to prove that he did belong to the genus, Man. Blacks pinned their hopes on the belief that customs adjust themselves to suit conditions, and if the condition of the black was such as to demand respect and recognition no social laws could prevent privileges being accorded to him.<sup>101.</sup>

Darwinism had an impact on theological thinking as well. Nevertheless, the lives of few Afro-American ministers were reported to be touched by "this purifying movement," with the result that the intelligent portion of the audiences sometimes laughed at their sermons. However Henry M. Turner apparently did not share the church's general anathema towards science. Adopting the Doctrine of Evolution, he is reported to have said:-

"A God able to evelve Newton from a tadpole is God enough for me."<sup>102.</sup>

---

100. Colored American, Dec.6,1902, p.8.

101. Alexander's Magazine, Vol.11 (1906), p.19.

102. New York Age, May,17,1906, p.2.

The blacks were reversing the arguments of their oppressors and turning them towards their own ends, with the caveat that the fittest ought to be given the chance to survive. This was really a contradiction in terms, for Social Darwinism assumed that the most able would automatically and inevitably rise to the top. By this proviso blacks hoped to exempt themselves for a strict definition of "the fittest"; blacks had to succeed in society as it was, not as they would have liked it to have been. The general black faith in these doctrines was dissipated with World War I, when doubts were cast on its efficacy.

"War does not result in the survival of the fittest, but leaves the unfit to propagate the earth, the strong being sacrificed in battle."<sup>103</sup>.

As Social Darwinism had not guaranteed black success, it was a logical step for blacks to assume it therefore could not guarantee that the fittest would survive. The equation of "black" with "fittest" necessitated a rethink when neither "survived."

The purpose behind so many of these ideological reactions was to augment racial pride. Racial prejudice, which grouped all blacks together in one indistinguishable mass, led to the success or failure of any black in a proposed venture being regarded as racial success or failure. Robert H. Terrell considered that he owed his position partly to his colour, and wished all blacks to know of his activities that they might be inspired.<sup>104</sup> Certain political appointments came to be considered as "black" appointments. Charles W. Anderson described the role of envoy to Hayti:-

103. Minutes, Boston Literary and Historical Association, Jan. 25, 1915, W.M.T. Mss. B.U.

104. R.H. Terrell to J.E. Bruce, Mar. 29, 1896. J.E.B. Mss. Schomburg.

"The colored people of the country look upon the mission to Hayti about as the white people regard the mission to the Court of St. James. The American minister to Hayti is more than the representative of our government. He is, in a very specific way, the representative of the largest collection of them just as the Ambassador to England is not only his government's representative, but the Envoy from one branch of the Anglo-Saxon race to the other."105.

Equally, individual shortcomings were often pictured as racial disasters, for example the Negro Pavillion at the Jamestown Exposition:-

"Mr. Jackson's failure is also a race failure, since the affair was projected in the name of the race, standing for fifty years of progress since freedom."106.

Another irritant to blacks was the spelling of 'Negro' without a capital 'N', a frequent feature in periodicals or books, printed by whites even when authored by blacks. But blacks could sometimes be careless themselves. Emmett Scott in 1904 requested of Moton that he ensure that Hampton used a capital 'N' in its publications, as it was of vital importance to racial self-respect.<sup>107</sup> The radicals of Niagara and the press, particularly the New York Age, campaigned for this symbolic insignia, and even Booker T. Washington albeit in a gentler vein, reprimanded Ray Stannard Baker for his use of the small 'n' in Following the Color Line:-

"I believe Negro should be capitalized as much as Indian, Filipino, or any other race varieties....Self-respecting Negroes who are not ashamed of the term Negro, are always much disappointed when they find themselves treated as a common noun, instead of as a race variety carrying capital letters in publications, just as others of our citizenship."108.

In addition to such incentives as the Spingarn medal and the work in the interests of racial solidarity of many of the racial organizations,

105. C.W.Anderson to B.T.Washington, May 24,1909. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

106. Indianapolis Freeman, July 31,1915. Clipping, B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

107. E.J.Scott to R.R.Moton, June 8,1904. Personal and Confidential B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

108. B.T.Washington to R.S.Baker, Feb.1,1907. R.S.B. Mss. L.C.



as early as 1908 blacks were being exhorted to buy Negro dolls for their children.<sup>109</sup> Even while opposing segregation, attempts were made by men like DuBois to consider separate Universities, "not as an unfortunate necessity, but as a wonderful privilege."<sup>110</sup> DuBois was coming to advocate not pride of biological race, but pride in "a cultural group integrated and expanded by developed ideas."<sup>111</sup>

One prerequisite in enhancing racial pride and self-respect was social uplift and social work - the need to ameliorate conditions so as to give the race little of which to be ashamed. The story of racial advance was often retold - the reduction of illiteracy, the publication of 500 books and 300 newspapers, the growth of the professions, the building of schools, churches, farms and homes, the development of business and commercial enterprises in the face of frightful hostility.<sup>112</sup> But such achievements only depicted the rise of the middle classes, who could not really succeed unless they elevated the under-privileged of the race with them. Race pride necessitated a situation where the individual could take pride in the whole race, not merely the conspicuous few. Blacks believed that the development of race pride in themselves would induce the respect of other races,<sup>113</sup> and some complained that it was the lack of this that led to the belittling and tearing down by blacks of any members of the race who appeared to be making good.<sup>114</sup> Social workers incorporated black pride into their work, encouraging self-help and attempting as much as possible to make the race "independent of

109. New York Age, Oct. 8, 1908, p. 4.

110. Speech, Dec. 20, 1894. Broderick's Notes, Schomburg.

111. Speech, Aug. 12, 1948. A.L.C., Schomburg.

112. Speech, G.H. White in the House of Representatives, Jan 29, 1901.

113. T.N. Carver, 'Make the Name "Nigger" Honorable,' Alexander's Magazine, Vol. 1 (1905), p. 7.

114. Indianapolis Freeman, Feb. 20, 1897, p. 4.

aims."<sup>115</sup> Not until 1919 did social work in the South take on a coherent structure. Until then most churches had a Social Service Department; "after collection" and during his pastoral visits the following week, the minister would divide the amount "among the shut-ins or those on the sick list." Not until the Urban League came to Atlanta, the Gateway to the South, was a new conception of social work born.<sup>116</sup>

Social uplift, like social work, centred on self-help, and the idea that the elevation of the race must come from within, not without.<sup>117</sup> Some advocates, like Fannie Barrier Williams, preferred to describe social uplift projects as questions of social betterment, and not of social equality, to appease any white opposition.<sup>118</sup> Social uplift included social work, but was a wider concept. The Frederick Douglass Center in Chicago denied it was a settlement or that it was trying to do settlement work. Rather it aspired to generate influences helpful to cordial relations between the races, removing the disabilities from which blacks suffered, encouraging opportunity for both races, and establishing a "centre of friendly helpfulness."<sup>119</sup> The movement was mostly ethical and spiritual, with unspecified and amorphous aims. Social uplift in fact was often as much concerned with moral betterment as with physical achievement, encompassing everything from the maintenance

115. E.K.Jones, 'Social Work Among Negroes,' Messenger, Vol.1 (1917) p.26.

116. J.O.Thomas, My Story in Black and White, p.97.

117. Baltimore Afro-American, Aug.31,1895, p.2.

118. Voice of the Negro, Vol.1 (1904), p.601.

119. Voice of the Negro, Vol.111 (1906), p.502.

of homes for delinquent girls<sup>120.</sup> to "the cultivation of a higher taste for things cleanly and beautiful around the house."<sup>121.</sup>

The concept of Social Uplift, although vague and ill-defined received a good deal of space in Crisis. Here it included anything that either enhanced black self-respect or improved the general living conditions of the race - for example, pageants and expositions on the one hand, and the provision of orphanages, youth clubs or the decline of the infant mortality rate on the other. It chronicled and encouraged the achievement of groups or institutions, providing a much needed anti-dote to the depressing revelations of the majority of black experiences. It was, however, in itself a profound comment on the innate tragedy of the Afro-American situation, for such seemingly pathetic trivia to require such a tremendous effort and to be deemed worthy of nation-wide publicity.

The interpretation of the Afro-American experience by the Talented Tenth really took place on three levels - a definition for themselves, an explanation to the rest of the race, and an answer to the white world. In dealing with the white media, blacks were limited by the sentiments of their white editors and publishers: they could only present their case within certain well-defined limits, namely what were considered the prejudices and predispositions of their audience. The Talented Tenth had also to explain white attitudes to their race, and as well as acting as inter-racial mediators, attempt to improve the socio-economic conditions of the race so as to soften white prejudice, while providing the substance for augmenting racial self-respect. Their greatest difficulties came in trying to assess the place of race in their philosophy. The search for

---

120. New York Age, July 25, 1912, p.4.

121. Pittsburgh Courier, May 18, 1912, p.4.

and debate about the desirability of distinctively black aesthetic standards was far from resolved by 1919, yet a yearning for a black literature, history and ideology was increasingly apparent. Some of the Talented Tenth were as afraid of intellectual segregation as they were of physical separation, yet others, to whom the need for "blackness" was more psychological or emotional than intellectual, felt that the growing awareness of things "black" could be a major factor in the new racial assertiveness of the post war years.

CONCLUSION.

The central problem in discussing the Talented Tenth is one of definition, for when W.E.B. DuBois first used the phrase, he was postulating an altruistic élite who would use their privileges for the general racial good. He was not describing the style or structure of a leadership class. Yet his words were eagerly received by the educated few, for in his concept of a Talented Tenth they found an identity. "Leadership" in the Afro-American community accrued to anyone with educational, social or economic privileges, whether they sought it or not. The Talented Tenth had little option but to fulfil the leadership role expected of them, yet they assumed a "noblesse oblige" attitude, implying that the nature and qualities of leadership were self-evident, and that they were inevitably the best suited in the race to lead it. It was also taken for granted that the race was in need of leadership, which was in itself an implicit recognition of the oppression the race endured. Although the Talented Tenth assumed that it should lead, it had no clear directional focus. Accepting the prevailing American value structure, the various leadership factions strove to achieve full acceptance and participation in American national life. This proved to be a crucial determinant of both their leadership style and goal selection.

Not all of those who might be included in the Talented Tenth by the enumeration of criteria like education, income, family background, social class, life-style, colour and morality necessarily opted "to lead," but by the very fact of their social status they were often classified as leaders. As well as the external, objective characteristics of the group, several subjective attitudes were critical, among which were the feeling of racial duty and of belonging to a privileged group whose advantages were at the disposal of the race. At best only one hundredth,



never one tenth, of the race could have qualified for the Talented Tenth, yet this was narrowed still further to those who felt that they belonged and were recognised as belonging. The Talented Tenth had no organization specifically its own, nor did it have any formal structure; its cohesion and identity rested on its own self-confidence and the conviction of its members of their mission.

Even more difficult to delimit than the Talented Tenth itself was its leadership role. "Leadership" usually presupposes that there is a following, but in this case the whole race was classified as the following, even those who did not wish to be led. The Talented Tenth operated from a position of weakness, not strength; impotent in the white world, sometimes marginal in the black, they had constantly to re-establish their contacts with their people. Often their leadership role was a self-delegated one: setting themselves up as spokesmen and intermediaries they spoke for the race without consulting it, keeping it informed of their activities and interpreting events in the white world, without referring back to the masses of the race for their consent and approval. The latter was taken for granted. They did make conscious and repeated efforts to exploit fully the available media of communication, but in the case of a spoken address an audience was limited by physical considerations, while the written word reached only the literate and the interested. They also used the black press to communicate among themselves, and to encourage others to aspire to their ranks.

The activities of the Talented Tenth were circumscribed by their environment, limiting their leadership role to one that was primarily inspirational and exemplary: they saw themselves as living proof that blacks could succeed in America. At the same time they engaged in a range of practical work, which they described rather loosely as "leadership." This work included giving evidence to congressional committees,

agitation, educational work, social work, social uplift and political activities. Leadership could be active or symbolic; some leaders were acclaimed on account of their concrete achievements on behalf of the race, while others were designated "leaders" because of their eminence and prestige, no matter how little they participated in public or racial affairs. Leaders were often spokesmen or orators: only in general terms did they encourage the race to action. They described general aims and desirable goals for a racial and national future: they only rarely came up with solutions to the race's problems, and then usually only at a local level.

Leadership had two facets, inter- and intra-racial, which were often, but not always coincident in the same person or group. Intra-racial leadership as conducted by the Talented Tenth comprised the informing and the educating of the race on social and political issues, and practical works. The former was mainly carried out through the black communications media and the black organizations. Prior to the U.N.I.A., none of the latter had a mass or even a large membership: their primary function was to provide a platform and publicity for their officers, while bringing the Talented Tenth together so that it might better organize itself. Inter-racial work was of a more delicate nature, for it involved coping with the whole spectrum of white racial attitudes. Intellectual status did not immunize the Talented Tenth from white cracker prejudice, nor did it give them freedom of manoeuvre in the white liberal or intellectual worlds. Indebted to white philanthropists, frequently for their education and occasionally for the financial support of "black" enterprises, the Talented Tenth were not really accepted on equal terms, even by the white liberals. The most significant and durable of the inter-racial contacts took place within an organizational framework. Here the white liberals, often

risking social opprobrium, undertook to assist in "black self-help." This was of course a contradiction in terms, an inherent weakness which led to much misunderstanding. Blacks could not be as outspoken as in their intra-racial organizations, and they suspected these whites of trying to direct and control black development. The Talented Tenth faced a recurring dilemma, between whether to accept white help, reducing their racial autonomy yet anticipating at least limited success, or to preserve racial integrity, risking isolation and no progress.

The Talented Tenth used their literary and analytical talents to examine the black predicament. As much as the leaders of the race, the Talented Tenth became its defenders, trying to project a favourable racial image in the white press and present a positive self-image in black literature. Their outlook on both domestic and international issues was, to quote W.E.B. DuBois, "provincial in thought and dream." Seeing everything from the perspective of blacks in a white world, the issues on the home front selected for discussion were those that were of immediate racial significance, while foreign affairs were interpreted as an extension of the colour problem.

The Talented Tenth were never unanimous on any one issue; they were not obliged to be by their definition of themselves, and they had no single socio-economic creed. They did share a naive belief that reason would eventually overcome the irrationality of prejudice, and many used race as a psychic crutch. Instead of analysing socio-economic fundamentals, many of the Talented Tenth seized on colour as the reason for their plight, and thus avoided answering possibly unpleasant questions. A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen resisted this trend, trying to bring a socialist analysis to bear on the situation; although there is no question as to their talent, they consciously disassociated themselves from the Talented Tenth, which they conceived as bourgeois and reactionary.

Another reason for the absence of ideological unity was the espousal of the creeds of individualism and democracy. By advocating freedom of speech the Talented Tenth encouraged ideological diffusion, and by believing in the individual's ultimate responsibility for his own status, the Talented Tenth weakened group unity. This does not mean that the Talented Tenth did not share many generalized views, aims and concepts; but their cohesion as a group stemmed from their sense of élitism, noblesse oblige and mission, not from organizational unity or philosophical unanimity.

Nor were the Talented Tenth the only aspirants to black leadership. At least prior to 1909, Booker T. Washington was considered the dominating influence in Afro-America, operating at both the intra- and inter-racial levels. To a certain extent the Talented Tenth had to answer white prejudice and challenge the Tuskegee ideas before they could conquer new fields of thought and action, yet while they were initially on the defensive from both sides, Washington was diverting enough attention from the Talented Tenth so that their radicalism did not seem to threaten established white society, in the same way that their more militant position enhanced Washington's acceptability. The irony of the situation is that both Tuskegee and the N.A.A.C.P. in its early years were financed by white money. Two white ideologies, the patrons and the paternalists, were looking for different ways of controlling black development, with the result that neither of the major black leadership groups before 1919 could produce a "truly black" ideology. The many and various leadership groups illustrate the fragmentary nature of pre-War black leadership; any group could only function as far as white society would tolerate, and as long as the American ideals were not violently challenged.

The Talented Tenth could not be said to have "failed," for this

presumes they did not accomplish feasible objectives. They did take many strides forward, but they could not overcome the monster prejudice. No amount of small, disjointed improvements in black conditions could change a national way of thought, leaving the Talented Tenth in the ambiguous position of trying to rectify the amorphous by the concrete. Despite each achievement, the final goal seemed no closer. Apparently doomed to frustration, by World War I the Talented Tenth were ready to reappraise their traditional ways of thought and modes of action.

---



APPENDIX IProminent Afro-Americans

- Adams, Cyrus Field. Editor and publisher of the Appeal / St. Paul and Chicago/. Assistant Registrar of the Treasury. Transportation Agent, N.N.B.L., 1904. Linguist and philatelist.
- Anderson, Charles W. Member of Republican State Committee. Supervisor of Accounts of the States Racing Association, New York, then appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for State of New York (1905).
- Alexander, Charles. Editor, Boston Colored Citizen and Alexander's Magazine.
- Arnett, Benjamin W. Became bishop in 1888. Author and lecturer.
- Barber, J. Max. Editor, Voice of the Negro. Prominent radical, later socialist. Assistant editor, The Crisis.
- Barnett, Ferdinand L. Prosecuting Attorney for Cook County, Chicago (1897). Married Ida B. Wells Founder, Chicago Conservator.
- Bentley, Charles E. Chicago dentist. Participated in several radical organizations.
- Bowen, J.W.E. Snr. Ph.D. at Boston University, 1882. President, Gammon Theological Seminary. Prominent in Methodist Episcopal Church. Joint editor of The Voice of the Negro.
- Braithwaite, William Stanley. Freelance literary critic and lyric poet. Discouraged specifically "black" literature, and contributed to white publications.
- Brawley, Benjamin Griffith. Son of college president. Professor at Howard and Morehouse Universities. Social historian and literary critic.
- Brown, Charlotte Hawkins. Founder, Palmer Memorial Institute. Vice-President, N.A.C.W.
- Bruce, John Edward (alias Bruce Grit). Newspaper correspondent for both black and white newspapers. Joint founder of Negro Society for Historical Research. Joined U.N.I.A.
- Bruce, Roscoe Conklin. Son of Senator Bruce. Phi Beta Kappa from Harvard. Assistant Superintendent for Schools, Washington, D.C. Manager, Dunbar Apartments, N.Y.
- Bulkley, William L. New York school principal.
- Burroughs, Nannie. Assistant editor of journal of National Baptist Convention. Organized Women's Industrial Club, to give training to working girls. 1900, Secretary Women's Auxiliary, National Colored Baptist Convention. Prolific columnist in black press, an activist in race organizations. Founder of National Training School for Girls.

- Campbell, Thomas Monroe. Teacher at Tuskegee Institute given responsibility for agricultural extension service.
- Cardozo, Francis Louis. Supervising Principal in the Coloured Schools of the District of Columbia. President of Bethel Literary.
- Carver, George Washington. Born in slavery. Scientist of interracial interpretation. Teacher at Tuskegee Institute.
- Chase, W. Calvin. Editor, Washington Bee.
- Cheatham, Henry P. Recorder of Deeds. Member of Congress, 1891-93.
- Chiles, Nick. Editor, Topeka Plaindealer.
- Church, Robert R. Largest real estate dealer in the South. Treasurer of the Congo League.
- Clifford, Mrs. Carrie Williams. Three times President of Ohio Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.
- Clinton, George W. Bishop, A.M.E. Zion Church. National Organizer, N.A.A.C. Editor, Star of Zion until 1892. President of Atkinson College.
- Corrothers, James D. Clergyman and poet.
- Cooper, Edward Elder. Established Indianapolis Freeman in 1888, then moved to Washington, D.C. to edit the Colored American, which failed in 1904.
- Councill, William Hooper. Principal, state normal school at Huntsville, Alabama.
- Crummell, Alexander. Educated at Cambridge. Spent 20 years in Liberia. Returned to U.S. to become rector of St. Luke's Church, Washington, D.C. Founded A.N.A. in 1897.
- Dancy, John C. Editor, A.M.E. Zion Quarterly. Collector of Customs at Wilmington, S.C. then Recorder of Deeds 1901-10.
- Davis, Mrs. L.A. National Organizer, N.A.C.W., 1904.
- DuBois, William Edward Burghardt. Educator and author. Secretary of Niagara Movement. Editor, Moon, Horizon, Crisis.
- Flipper, Henry O. Coloured graduate of West Point.
- Forbes, George W. Co-editor of Boston Guardian. Librarian in Boston Public Library.
- Fortune, Timothy Thomas. Editor, New York Rumor, Globe, Freeman and Age. Founder, N.A.A.L. and President, N.A.A.C.
- Grant, Abraham. Bishop in A.M.E. Church.
- Greener, Richard T. Lawyer. Consul at Vladivostok until 1906.

- Grimké, Archibald Henry. Lawyer. President, Washington, D.C. branch of N.A.A.C.P. President, Massachusetts Suffrage League.
- Grimké, Francis James. Pastor, Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C.
- Hill, Leslie Pinckney. Principal Cheyney Institute and Manassas School.
- Hilyer, Andrew F. Civic leader and clubman, Washington, D.C.
- Holsey, Albon L. Secretary, N.N.B.L. Assistant to E.J. Scott.
- Holtzclaw, W.H. Principal, Utica Institute, Mississippi.
- Hope, John. President, Atlanta Baptist College and Morehouse Member, Niagara Movement and N.A.A.C.P.
- Howard, Perry. Republican official in Mississippi, became lawyer in Washington, D.C.
- Jackson, Giles B. Undertook legal fight against Jim Crow Law in Virginia, 1901. Organized Jamestown Exhibit.
- Jackson, George W. President, Bethel Literary.
- Johnson, James Weldon. Educated Atlanta University. Song-writer and librettist. Writer and poet. Consul to Venezuela and Nicaragua. Field Secretary, N.A.A.C.P., 1916.
- Jones, Lawrence Clifton. Founder of school at Piney Woods.
- Kealing, Hightower T. Editor, A.M.E. Church Review (1896-1912).
- Knox, George L. Editor, Indianapolis Freeman. Owner of two barber shops.
- Laney, Lucy. Founder, Haines Normal Institute, Atlanta, Ga.
- Lee, Benjamin F. Bishop, Executive Head of A.M.E. Church.
- Lewis, William H. Boston lawyer. Played football for Harvard. Cambridge City Councilman. Assistant Attorney General of U.S.
- Lyon, Ernest. Minister to Monrovia, Liberia, 1903.
- Lyons, Judson W. Registrar, U.S. Treasury.
- McGhee, Frederick L. Catholic lawyer of St. Paul, Minnesota. Member N.A.A.C. and Niagara Movement.
- McKinley, Whitefield. Real estate dealer. B.T. Washington's most loyal supporter in the national capital.
- Miller, Kelly. Dean and professor of mathematics at Howard.
- Mitchell, John. Editor, Richmond Planet. President, Mechanics Savings Bank. President Afro-American Press Association. First coloured member, American Banker's Association. Member Common Council and Board of Aldermen of Richmond.

Montgomery, Isaiah T. Receiver of Public Monies, Jackson, Miss.  
Mayor of Mound Bayou, Miss. Active in N.N.B.L.

Moore, Fred. Editor, New York Age.

Moton, Robert Russa. Commandant of Cadets, Hampton Institute. Founder,  
N.O.S.Va. Principal, Tuskegee Institute.

Morris, Edward H. Attorney-at-law. Member of Illinois legislative.  
Grand Master, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

Murray, Daniel. Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress. Vice-  
President, Pen and Pencil Club.

Murray, Freeman H.M. Washington, D.C. printer. Member, Niagara Move-  
ment and N.A.A.C.P.

Nail, John. New York Real Estate Agent.

Napier, James Carroll. Lawyer, banker, politician in Nashville, Tenn.

Owen, Chandler. Socialist, joint editor of the Messenger.

Payton, Phillip A. New York Real Estate Agent.

Pickens, William. President, Talladega College. Dean, Morgan College.  
Field Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

Pinchback, P.B.S. Acting Governor of Louisiana during Reconstruction.  
Republican politician.

Randolph, Asa Philip. Socialist, co-editor of the Messenger. Labour  
leader and Secretary, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Ransom, Reverdy C. Radical orator. Member Constitution League and  
Niagara Movement. Editor, A.M.E. Church Review after 1912.

Ruffin, Mrs. Josephine St. Pierre. President New Era Club, and editor  
of The Women's Era. Convened First National Conference of Colored  
Women, in Boston, 1895. Vice-President, N.A.C.W.

Scarborough, W.S. President of Wilberforce. Linguist.

Scott, Emmett J. Secretary to Booker T. Washington. Special Assistant  
to Secretary for War.

Smith, Harry C. Member of Ohio legislature and patron of the Anti-  
Lynching Bill of 1896. Editor, Cleveland Gazette. Deputy State  
oil inspector. Musician.

Smith, Reuben. Washington, D.C. Attorney.

Smith, Wilford H. New York attorney. Argued case of Jackson W. Giles  
vs. The Board of Registrars, Montgomery County, Alabama. [Suffrage  
Case].

Tanner, Benjamin T. Bishop and scholar, A.M.E. Church. Editor,  
Christian Recorder 1868-84.

Terrell, Mary Church. First black woman appointed to Washington, D.C. Board of Education. First President, N.A.C.W. Represented black women at European Conferences. Member N.A.A.C.P., lecturer and writer.

Terrell, Robert Herberton. Municipal judge, Washington, D.C.

Thompson, R.W. Newspaper correspondent. Headed National Negro Press Bureau in Washington, D.C.

Towns, George A. Faculty member. Atlanta University.

Trotter, William Monroe. Editor, Boston Guardian. Radical, member of Niagara Movement and Boston Literary. Founder, Suffrage Leagues.

Turner, Henry McNeil. Senior bishop, A.M.E. Church. Editor, Voice of Missions. Advocate of African colonization.

Tyler, Ralph. Part-time journalist. Auditor to the Navy Department.

Waldron, J. Milton. Radical Baptist Minister, from Jacksonville, Fla. Member of Niagara Movement. Socialist. Later moved to Washington, D.C., where he served as chairman of the local branch, N.A.A.C.P.

Walters, Alexander. A.M.E. Zion bishop. Chairman, N.A.A.C.

Walton, Lester A. Journalist with New York Age. Also wrote for white papers.

Washington, Booker T. Founder and principal, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. Founder, N.N.B.L.

Washington, Margaret Murray. Lady Principal, Tuskegee Institute. President, Tuskegee Women's Club. President, Afro-American Federation of Colored Women, which merged into N.A.C.W. in 1896. President N.A.C.W. and editor of Association Notes. President N.F.C.W.C. Organized reform school at Mt. Meigs, Ala. and another for delinquent girls.

Wells-Barnett, Ida B. Wrote under pen-name "Iola". Owner of Memphis Free Speech. Crusader against lynching by lecturing, writing and organizing. Toured Great Britain 1893 and 1894. Member, N.A.A.C. Organized Negro Fellowship League, 1908.

Wetmore, J. Douglas. Attorney, Jacksonville, Fla. Member of City Council. Admitted to Bar of U.S. Supreme Court, 1902.

Williams, Fannie Barrier. First black woman admitted to Women's Club of Chicago and to Chicago Library Board. Helped organize the first training school for black nurses in Chicago, and worked with the Phillis Wheatley Home Association.

Williams, Daniel Hale. Physician. Pioneer in radical heart surgery. Prominent in establishment of Provident Hospital.



Williams, S. Laing. Washington's closest ally in Chicago.  
Assistant federal district attorney. Active in N.N.B.L.

Williams, William Taylor Burwell. Field Agent, Hampton Institute (1901-1919), Slater Fund (1906-1922) and Jeanes Fund (1910-1927).  
Field director, Southern Education Board (1902-1904). Assistant Supervisor, Vocational Training for Colored Schools (1918).

Wilson, Butler. Boston attorney. Member, Niagara Movement and N.A.A.C.P.

White, George H. Last race member of Congress before 1930's. Lawyer.

Wright, Richard Robert, Jr. Editor, A.M.E. Christian Recorder.  
Bishop. President of Wilberforce.

Yates, Mrs. Josephine Silone. Vice President, later president, N.A.C.W.

Young, Charles. Graduate of West Point. Colonel, U.S. Army.

## APPENDIX II

Distribution of black graduates 1914-1919.

Alma Mater	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
<u>Black Institutions.</u>						
Agricultural and Mechanical, Alabama				1	4	
A. and M., Florida.		3	11	10	7	7
A. and M., South Carolina			6		9	
Agricultural and Technical, North Carolina					10	
Alcorn				26		
Allen						4
Arkansas Baptist College	5	1	7	5		3
Atlanta University	10	9	7	9	17	11
Benedict College	7	13	14	10	13	10
Bennett		5		1	1	
Biddle		26	26	34	39	18
Bishop		3	9	11	14	
Central Texas		2		12		
Claflin					2	2
Clark				1	11	4
Fisk	37		25	32	27	28
Gammon Theological Seminary			14		5	1
Georgia State		4	18	6		
Greensboro		2	9	7		6
Hartshorn			1	10	14	1
Howard	68	158	184	157	185	90
Knoxville	3	4	6	6	7	9
Lane	4		2			2
Langston			4	12		
Lincoln	35	48	40	32	31	28
Livingstone					13	
Meharry					115	97
Miles Memorial					2	
Morehouse	6	20	9	10	9	3
Morgan		2	11	11	4	
Morris Brown	2	4	4	5	3	4
New Orleans		6	1	3		8
Paine			3		3	1
Philander Smith		7	11	9	8	11
Roger Williams			1	8	2	
Rust			1	1	3	1
Sam Houston		3			5	7
Shaw		2		7	7	2
Shorter				2		11
Smith (G.R.)		2		6		
Spelman	5	4	3	1	10	2
Straight		2	5	1	7	1
Talladega	5	12	10		10	16
Toogaloo			3	20		
Virginia Seminary		11	5		3	

Alma Mater	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Virginia Union	8	10	9	19	7	5
Walden	9					
Wilberforce	3	16	10	16	12	22
Wiley		6		9		16
Others	25?	80?				
<u>White Institutions.</u>						
Alleghany		1				
Amherst		1		1		1
Antioch College		1		2		
Armour Institute of Technology						1
Bates				1	1	1
Boston					3	
Bowdoin				1		
Brown		1			1	1
Butler					2	
Carnegie Institute					1	
Case	1	1			1	
Chicago	1	2	5	4		1
City College of New York			1	3	1	
Clark	3		3	1		
Colby				1		
Colgate			1		1	1
Connecticut Agricultural College					1	
Connecticut Institute of Technology				1		
Colorado State Agricultural College					1	
Columbia	4	3	2	1		
Cornell		3	1		4	
Creighton		1				
Dartmouth		4	2		2	1
Denison			4			
Des Moines	1				1	
Detroit College of Medicine			1			
Detroit Institute of Technology		3				
Dickerson	1					
Drake	1					
Drew Theological Seminary		2				
Harvard	5	4	2	12	2	2
Hillsdale	1	1		2	2	2
Hunter					1	4
Iowa State College of Agriculture			1			
Iowa State Teachers' College			2	3	2	
Iowa Wesleyan					2	
Indiana State Normal						1
Kansas State Agricultural College		1	2	2	1	1
Knox		2				2
Macalester					1	
Marquette					1	
Massachusetts Institute of Technology				1		

Alma Mater	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Miami	1					
Michigan Agricultural College				1	1	
Milliken					1	
Mount Holyoke						1
Music Conservatory, St. Paul		1				
New York University	1	1	2	3	1	1
North Western		3	1		4	7
Oberlin	7	4	10	5	3	
Ohio State			10		3	8
Oskaloosa				1		
Penn State College						1
Pratt		1				
Purdue			1		2	
Radcliffe			1	3	1	2
Rhode Island	1			1		
Rush						1
Rutgers						1
Simmons				1		
Smith	1		1	1		
Syracuse		1	4	3		2
Temple	10	8	14		13	14
Tufts		3	2		1	
University of California					2	
University of Cincinnati		3	2			2
University of Colorado	1			2	1	
University of Illinois	2		5	2	8	
University of Indiana	1	2	2	5	2	2
University of Iowa				6	1	
University of Kansas	4	3	6	4	3	6
University of Michigan	5		6	5	4	2
University of Minnesota	1				1	1
University of Nebraska		1	1	1		
University of Ohio	1	1		5	4	5
University of Pennsylvania				2	1	
University of Pittsburg	6	2	4	2	2	2
University of Southern California		1			2	1
University of Washington			1		1	
University of Wisconsin			2	1		
Washburn	1				3	
Wellesley			1	1		
Wesleyan			1	3		
Western Reserve		3		2	1	1
Williams				1		
Wheaton College	1					
Yale	2	23	3	1	5	2

Source. Crisis (July 1914; July 1915; July 1916; July 1917; July 1918; July 1919).

A) The Relationship of the Professions to Other Occupations, for blacks over the age of 10, in 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Key.	Occupational Classification	Both sexes		
		1890	1900	1910
1.	Total	3,073,167	3,992,337	5,192,535
2.	Agriculture	1,728,325	2,143,154	2,881,454
3.	Professional Service	33,994	47,219	66,246
	Percentage	1.090%	1.182%	1.275%
4.	Domestic and Personal Service	956,754	1,317,859	1,357,598
5.	Trade and Transportation	145,717	208,989	334,422
6.	Manufacturing and Mechanical	208,374	257,116	552,815

Key	Male			Female		
	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910
1.	2,101,379	2,675,497	3,178,554	971,785	1,316,840	2,013,981
2.	1,300,658	1,561,153	1,830,425	427,667	582,001	1,051,030
3.	25,170	31,625	38,077	8,824	15,594	28,169
	1.190%	1.182%	1.194%	0.907%	1.185%	1.398%
4.	450,765	635,933	496,101	505,989	681,926	861,497
5.	143,371	204,852	323,046	2,346	4,137	11,376
6.	181,415	241,934	490,906	26,959	33,182	61,909



B) Blacks over 10 years of age in professional occupations,  
classified by sex and occupation, in 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Profession	Both sexes		
	1890	1900	1910
Key.			
1. Actors, professional showmen	1,490	2,020	3,088
2. Architects, designers, draftsmen	44	52	154
3. Artists, art teachers	150	236	329
4. Clergymen	12,159	15,528	17,996
5. Dentists	120	212	478
6. Electricians, engineers, surveyors	279	305	970
7. Journalists	134	210	220
8. Lawyers	431	728	915
9. Literary, scientific persons	91	99	315
10. Musicians, music teachers	1,881	3,915	5,606
11. Government officials	1,115	645	1,071
12. Physicians, surgeons	909	1,734	3,409
13. Teachers, college professors	15,100	21,267	29,772
14. Other professional service	91	268	1,923
Total	33,994	47,219	66,246

	Males			Females		
	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910
Key						
1.	1,422	1,764	2,464	68	256	624
2.	44	52	147	-	-	7
3.	84	150	201	66	86	128
4.	12,110	15,364	17,596	49	164	400
5.	118	205	452	2	7	26
6.	278	303	970	1	2	-
7.	129	199	200	5	11	20
8.	431	718	892	-	10	23
9.	69	74	240	22	25	75
10.	1,287	2,730	3,259	594	1,185	2,347
11.	1,090	595	940	25	50	131
12.	794	1,574	2,885	115	160	524
13.	7,236	7,743	7,225	7,864	13,524	22,547
14.	78	154	606	13	114	1,317
Total	25,170	31,625	38,077	8,824	15,594	28,169

Source: Negro Population, 1790-1915.

Illiterates in the black population over 10 years of age, by sex and geographical division, 1910.

Geographical division	Both sexes		
	Total	Illiterate	
		Number	Percent
Key			
1. United States	7,317,922	2,227,731	30.4
2. New England	55,321	4,341	7.8
3. Middle Atlantic	351,546	27,811	7.9
4. East North Central	254,545	28,071	11.0
5. West North Central	203,641	30,436	14.9
6. South Atlantic	2,986,936	969,432	32.5
7. East South Central	1,960,898	681,507	34.8
8. West South Central	1,460,705	483,022	33.1
9. Mountain	18,755	1,497	8.0
10. Pacific	25,575	1,614	6.3

	Male			Female		
	Total	Illiterate		Total	Illiterate	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Key						
1.	3,637,386	1,096,000	30.1	3,680,536	1,131,731	30.7
2.	27,389	2,107	7.7	27,932	2,234	8.0
3.	171,008	12,573	7.4	180,538	15,238	8.4
4.	133,614	13,897	10.4	120,931	14,174	11.7
5.	106,567	14,678	13.8	97,074	15,758	16.2
6.	1,470,297	477,107	32.4	1,516,639	492,325	32.5
7.	970,921	337,893	34.8	989,977	343,614	34.7
8.	732,945	236,239	32.2	727,760	246,783	33.9
9.	10,461	754	7.2	8,294	743	9.0
10.	14,184	752	5.3	11,391	862	7.6

Source: Negro Population, 1790-1915 pp.420-421.

ion

Percentage of black population illiterate, by state.

1. United States	30.4	8. West South Central	
		Arkansas	26.4
2. <u>New England</u>		Louisiana	48.4
Maine	8.0	Oklahoma	17.7
New Hampshire	10.6	Texas	24.6
Vermont	4.8		
Massachusetts	8.1	9. <u>Mountain</u>	
Rhode Island	9.5	Montana	7.0
Connecticut	6.3	Idaho	6.4
		Wyoming	5.0
3. <u>Middle Atlantic</u>		Colorado	8.6
New York	5.0	New Mexico	14.2
New Jersey	9.9	Arizona	7.2
Pennsylvania	9.1	Utah	4.8
		Nevada	5.5
4. <u>East North Central</u>			
Ohio	11.1	10. <u>Pacific</u>	
Indiana	13.7	Washington	4.3
Illinois	10.5	Oregon	3.4
Michigan	5.7	California	7.1
Wisconsin	4.5		
5. <u>West North Central</u>			
Minnesota	3.4		
Iowa	10.3		
Missouri	17.4		
North Dakota	4.8		
South Dakota	5.5		
Nebraska	7.2		
Kansas	12.0		
6. <u>South Atlantic</u>			
Delaware	25.6		
Maryland	23.4		
District of Columbia	13.5		
Virginia	30.0		
West Virginia	20.3		
North Carolina	31.9		
South Carolina	38.7		
Georgia	36.5		
Florida	25.5		
7. <u>East South Central</u>			
Kentucky	27.6		
Tennessee	27.3		
Alabama	40.1		
Mississippi	35.6		

The Publications of the Crisis:

The Report of the Director of the Department of Publicity and Research of the N.A.A.C.P. revealed the following achievements:-

- " 1910. Research into the condition of Negro graduates of colleges throughout the U.S. The investigation was financed by the Slater Fund and Atlanta University, and conducted from the Crisis office over a period of six months.
1911. Analysis of Census Agricultural figures for the American Economic Association.  
Research into Negro common school education, extending over 12 months and financed by the Slater Fund and Atlanta University.
1912. Research into the condition of Negro artisans and trade unions; financed as above and extended over 12 months.
1913. Research into the morals and manners among Negro Americans; financed as above and extended over 12 months.
1914. Analysis of occupational statistics of U.S. Census.  
Study of the economic condition of Negroes for the *Revue Internationale d'Economie Politique*.  
Memorandum for the U.S. Commission on Industrial Education.
1915. Researches into African history extending over the years 1913, 1914 and part of 1915.  
Smaller researches during 1914 and 1915 as follows:-  
Negro folklore and folk songs. (Presented at Brooklyn Institute and Columbia).  
The Oklahoma Situation (Enquete of Two Hundred Letters).  
Investigation into Land Grant Colleges.  
Investigation into Lynchings.  
A systematic effort was made to secure funds for further research work which could be published directly by the Department.
- " In 1913 the department co-operated with O.G. Villard in an attempt to have a National Commission appointed. The President refused. In 1914 nothing was accomplished in an effort to persuade the Census Bureau to allow the department to co-operate in the interpretation of Negro statistics.



" Publications:-

Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911).

The College Bred Negro (1911).

The Common School and the American Negro (1912).

The Negro American Artisan (1913)

Morals and Manners Among American Negroes (1915).

The Negro (1915).

" Smaller Pamphlets and magazine articles:-

Disfranchisement.

The Negro in Literature and Art (A.A.A.P.S.S.).

Economics of Negro Emancipation (Sociological Review).

Art (Ethical Review).

Art (Forecaste).

3 articles on the Races Congress (New York Evening Post).

6 political leaflets (1912).

Violations of Property Rights.(N.A.A.C.P. paper).

The Last Word in Caste. (N.A.A.C.P. paper).

Marrying Black Folk (Independent).

Review of Mayo's Monograph (Journal of Philosophy).

Review of Mecklin's book (New Review).

Souls of White Folks (Independent).

Socialism and the Negro Problem (New Review).

The African Roots of War (Atlantic Monthly).

Hymns to the People (Independent)

Half-Century of Freedom (New York Times).

N.A.A.C.P. Notes on Lynching.

N.A.A.C.P. Notes on Intermarriage.

Race Relations in the U.S.

Negro Property in the World Today.

Forty Years of Freedom (Missionary Review of the World).

Black Durham (World's Work).

Social Effects of Emancipation (Survey).

Memorandum on Land Grant Colleges.

" Letters were written and published, from time to time, in the Evening Post, Boston Transcript, Indianapolis News, Philadelphia Record, World, Times and Sun.

"Miscellaneous:-

Memorandum to the U.S. Commission on Industrial Education.  
 How Black Folk Earn a Living.  
 Coleridge-Taylor.  
 Seven-Up: A Play.  
 Caste in America.  
 Two book reviews.  
 The Comet and Down to Jericho (stories).  
 The Forward Movement.  
 Memorandum to Mr. Prosser on Vocational Training.  
 Democracy of Race and Sex.  
 Economic Condition of the Negro.  
 The Woman in Black.

"In addition to works written by the Director, The Crisis had published 3 volumes and 2 pamphlets and taken over for sale, after publication, 2 pamphlets.

"Other activities:-

1911. Races Congress.  
 1913. Emancipation Exposition of the State of New York.  
 1914. Child Welfare Exhibits.  
 1915. Washington Pageant. "

Source: Minutes, Annual Meeting, Jan.3.1916. N.A.A.C.P. Mss. L.C.

Office Holders and Prominent Black Members of  
Selected Organizations

American Negro Academy

Rev. A. Crummell; W.E.B. DuBois; W.S. Scarborough; S.G. Atkins;  
Rev. J.A. Johnson; Rev. F.J. Grimké; Rev. L.B. Moore; J.W. Cromwell;  
C.C. Cook; K. Miller; W.H. Croghan; G.N. Grisham; J.L. Love;  
Rev. M. Anderson; W.B. Hayson; G.M. Lightfoot; A.H. Grimké; J.E.  
Moorland; A.U. Craig; J.R. Clifford; E.C. Williams; Rev. L.Z.  
Johnson; J.J. France; L.M. Hershaw; R.T. Browne; A.A. Schomburg;  
W.H. Ferris; J.E. Bruce; Dr. C.D. Martin; W. Pickens; W.A. Hawkins;  
J. Hurst; T.G. Steward; R.W. Bagnall; F.H.M. Murray; J.E. Kweggir-  
Aggrey; N.H. Thomas; C.G. Woodson; E.E. Just; Rev. W.H. Brooks;  
R.H. Terrell; G.W. Cook; R.C. Bruce; R.A. Pelham; T.M. Gregory;  
M.N. Work; C.V. Roman; O. Faduma.  
Honorary Members: Duse Mohammed; J. Carmichael Smith; H.O. Tanner;  
J. Casely Hayford.

Source: Occasional Papers, American Negro Academy.

National Afro-American Council

T.T. Fortune; W.A. Pledger; W.H. Steward; J.Q. Adams; J.H. Guy;  
Rev. G. Hunt; J. Lewis; A.D. Griffin; W.A. Lewis; Mrs. R.J. Jeffrey;  
C.F. Adams; F.L. McGhee; Mrs. F.B. Williams; Miss E.V. Webster;  
J.W. Thompson; A.B. Cosey; W.T. Francis; Rev. L.G. Jordan; A. Walters;  
I.B. Scott; J.M. Vance; E.J. Scott; J.J. Adams; E. Barnes; M.C.B.  
Mason; J. Mitchell Jnr; M.M. Lewey; E.B. Jefferson; E.C. Morris;  
G.W. Jackson; J.C. Dancy; D. Murray; Mrs. L.E. Morten; S.L. Williams;  
G.L. Knox; Mrs. S.F. Williams; W.M. Trotter; W.H. Ferris; I.T. Mont-  
gomery; F.L. Barnett; H.T. Johnson; H.O. Flipper; Bishop J.W. Hood;  
Bishop G.W. Clinton; L.G. Jordan; Mrs. E.F. Mossell; Miss E. Carter;  
J.C. Napier; J.E. Bruce; J.R. Clifford.

Source: Officers of the National Afro-American Council. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

Niagara Movement

W.E.B. DuBois; G.H. Jackson; W. Pickens; W.A. Byrd; P.M. Nash;  
 C.A. Franklin; J.A. Hagan; C.L. Jefferson; L.M. Hershaw; J.M.  
 Waldron; J. Hope; C.E. Bentley; J.M. Benson; J.E. Potter;  
 B.S. Smith; J.L.R. Diggs; F.P. Jackson; G.R. Waller; C.G. Morgan;  
 W.T. Francis; D.W. Sherrod; A. Burgess; A.R. Mayo; O.M. Waller;  
 C.H. Boyer; R.D.G. Troy; G.W. Mitchell; W.T. Thomas; B. Gunner;  
 R. Hill; M.E. Stevens; J.L.M. Burghardt; F.H.M. Murray; J.R.  
 Clifford; M.N. Work; F.L. McGhee; W.M. Trotter; W.H. Hart; F.L.  
 Barnett; E.H. Morris; B.R. Wilson; R.C. Ransom; H.C. Smith;  
 G.A. Towns; W.P. Dabney; S.E. Griggs; A.F. Herndon.

Source: Niagara Movement: Secretaries and Committees. Circular  
 J.E.S. Mss. H.U.

National Afro-American Press Association

J.C. Dancy; G.F. Bragg; W.H. Steward; E.E. Cooper; Rev. C.H.  
 Phillips; C.J. Perry; Rev. W.H. Alexander; J.H. Murphy; T.T.  
 Fortune; Rev. C.S. Morris; W.C. Chase; Rev. W.B. Jackson; J. Mitchell,  
 Jnr; Rev. C.B.W. Gordon.

Source: Richmond Planet, July 13 1895.

National Negro Press Association

R.W. Thompson; J.L. Jones; G. Brewer; H.A. Boyd; C.S. Smith;  
 J.L. Thompson; E.J. Scott; J.R. Booker; F.R. Roberts; J.D.D. Rivers;  
 G.W. Crawford; S.T. Henry; J.C. Waters, Jnr; H.M. Lewey; B.J. Davis;  
 C.B. Lewis; G.L. Knox; H.E. Jacobs; N. Chiles; W.H. Steward; Rev.  
 R.E. Jones; H.T. Pratt; T.J. Harnson; J.A. Ross; G.B. Kelley; Rev.  
 E.B. Topp; C.K. Robinson; T.P. Mahammut; J.H. Lightfoot; J.H. Ander-  
 son; W.S. Young; T. Kennedy; C.H. Parker; R.R. Wright, Jnr; C.J.W.  
 Smith; W.T. Andrews; W.L. Porter; W.A. Peete; L. Marsh; B.A. Graves;  
 J.C. Gilmer; R.B. Montgomery; Rev. G.W. Prioleau; C.C. Mitchell;  
 J.S. Durham; H.W. Furniss; C.A. Cottrill; Bishop I.B. Scott; J.G.  
 Carter; S.E. Griggs; J.W. Johnson; S.J. Jones; Dr. J.H. Fitzbutler;  
 W.H. Craighead; F.R. Moore.

Source: R.W. Thompson to E.J. Scott, 15 Nov. 1912. B.T.W. Mss. L.C.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

W.E.B. DuBois; J.W. Johnson; W. Pickens; W.F. White; Rev. A.C. Powell, Snr; A. Walters; B. Wilson; W.M. Trotter; J.P. Loud; A.H. Grimké; F.J. Grimké; Mrs. M.H. Talbert; W.L. Bulkley; G.W. Crawford; F.H.M. Murray; N.H. Thomas; Miss E.C. Carter; C.W. Chesnutt; W.S. Scarborough; Mrs. I.B. Wells-Barnett; Dr. C.E. Bentley; R.R. Wright, Jnr; Dr. N.F. Mossell; Dr. W.A. Sinclair; L.M. Hershaw; K. Miller; Mrs. M.C. Terrell; J.M. Waldron; J. Hope; L.P. Hill.

Source: Crisis, Vol.I. no.I (Nov.1910).

Universal Negro Improvement Association

Access to the U.N.I.A. Papers and Membership Lists was conditional on the preservation of the anonymity of individuals.



Bibliography.

Primary SourcesManuscript CollectionsAtlanta University. Trevor Arnett Library

Bumstead, Horace

Chautauqua Circle

Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation

Countee Cullen Memorial Collection

Neighborhood Union

Towns, George Alexander

Ware, Edward Twichell

Bethune -- Cookman College

Bethune, Mary McLeod

Boston Public Library

Forbes, George A.

Boston University. Mugar Library

Trotter, William Monroe

Fisk University. Ernest Milo Cravath Memorial Library

Chesnutt, Charles Waddell

DuBois, William Edward Burghardt

Haynes, George Ednaund

Langston, John Mercer

Napier, James Carroll

Rosenwald Fund Archives

Hampton Institute. Collis P. Huntington Memorial Library

DuBois, William E.B. (Correspondence File)

Jones, Thomas Jesse

Mohon, Robert Russa

Washington, Booker Taliafero

Harvard University, Houghton Library.

Villard, Oswald Garrison.

Howard University, Moorland - Spingarn Foundation, Founders' Library.

Bethel Literary and Historical Association.

Brawley, Benjamin Griffith.

Bruce, Roscoe Conklin.

Cook, George William.

Grimké, Archibald Henry.

Grimké, Francis J.

Hilver, Andrew H.

Miller, Kelly.

Murray, Freeman Henry M.

Mu-So-Lit Club.

Spingarn, Arthur Barnett.

Spingarn, Joel Elias.

Turner, Henry McNeil

Williams, Daniel Hale.

Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

American Colonization Society.

Baker, Ray Stannard.

Carnegie, Andrew.

Clarkson, James S.

Curry, James Lamar, M.

Hitchcock, Frank.

Holmes, John Haynes.

McKinley, William.

Meyer, George von Lengerke.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

National Urban League.

Ogden, Robert C.

Peabody, George Foster.

Roosevelt, Theodore.

Schurz, Carl.

Spingarn, Arthur Barnett.

Storey, Moorfield.

Terrell, Mary Church.

Terrell, Robert Herberton.

Washington, Booker Taliafero.

Wilson, Woodrow.

Woodson, Carter Godwin.

New York Public Library. Schomburg Collection.

Autograph Letter Collection.

Bruce, John Edward.

Citizens Protective League.

DuBois' Papers: Notes taken by F. Broderick.

Pickens, William.

Schomburg, Arthur.

Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Tuskegee Institute.

Campbell, Thomas Monroe.

Carver, George Washington.

Holsey, Albon L.

Moton, Robert Russa.

Washington, Margaret Murray.

Williams, William Taylor Burwell.

Work, Monroe Nathan.

Yale University. Beinecke Library.

James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection.

Johnson, James Weldon.

McKay, Claude.

O'Neill, Eugene.

Spingarn, Joel Elias.

van Vechten, Carl.

White, Walter Francis.

Yale University. Sterling Memorial Library.

Embree, Edwin.

Hilles, Charles.

Loran, Charles Templeman.

Phelps Stokes, Anson.

Phelps Stokes Family Papers.

Clippings Files.

Bethune - Cookman College, Clippings Files.

Embassy of the United States, London, Civil Rights File.

Hampton Institute, Peabody Collection Clippings Files.

Harvard University, Archival Folders.

Schoonburg Collection, Vertical Files.

Tuskegee Institute, M.N. Work's Clippings Files.

Yale University, James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection  
Scrapbooks.

Minutes. Proceedings and Memoranda.

Memorial Addresses at the Funeral of Frederick Douglass.

National Negro Conference, 1909. Proceedings.

Negro Year Books 1912;1913;1914-15;1918-19;1921-22.

Occasional Papers, American Negro Academy.

Negro Society for Historical Research.



Proceedings. Annual Meetings, National Negro Business League.

----- . Annual Meetings, Negro Organisation Society of Virginia.

----- . Capon Springs Conferences.

----- . Conferences, National Association of Colored Women.

----- . Hampton Conferences.

----- . National Negro Press Association.

----- . Tuskegee Farmers' Conferences.

Carnegie - Myrdal Study, Research Memoranda.

R. Bunche, A Brief and Tentative Analysis of Negro Leadership.

----- . Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem.

----- . The Political Status of the Negro.

----- . The Programs, ideologies, tactics and achievements of Negro betterment and inter-racial organizations.

Twentieth Century Club of Boston: Record of Twenty Years (1914)

W.P.A. Report: Negroes in New York.

#### Official Documents.

Hearing before the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions.  
Celebration of the Semicentennial Anniversary of the Act of Emancipation  
House of Representatives, 63rd Cong. 2nd Sess. HR 15733 May 27, 1914.

Hearing before the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.  
Segregation of Clerks and Employees in the Civil Service, House of  
Representatives, 63rd Cong. 2nd Sess. Mar 6, 1914.

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, against persons  
advising anarchy, sedition and the forcible overthrow of the government.  
Senate Document 153, 66th Cong. 1st Sess. Oct 17, 1919.

Jones, T.J. Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools  
for Colored People in the United States. Government Printing Office,  
Washington, D.C., 1917.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population, 1790-1915. Government  
Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1918.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Freedom to the Free. United States  
Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963.

#### Black Periodicals.

Alexander's Magazine.

A.M.E. Review.

Colored American Magazine.

Competitor.

Crisis.

Half Century Magazine.

Horizon.

Liberia.

Moon.

National Association Notes.

Opportunity.

Southern Workman.

The African News (1893)

Tuskegee Institute Bulletin.

Voice of the Negro.

#### Black Newspapers.

African Times and Orient Review (London)

Age (New York)

Bay State Banner (Boston)

Broad-ax (Chicago)

Cleveland Gazette.

Colored American (Washington, D.C.)

Indianapolis Freeman.

Interstate Tattler (New York)

Messenger (New York)

Negro World (New York)

Pittsburg Courier.

Richmond Planet.

The Afro-American (Baltimore)

Journal and Guide (Norfolk)

The Guardian (Boston)

Tuskegee Messenger.

Tuskegee Student.

Washington Bee.

#### White Newspapers.

Boston Evening Transcript.

Daily Picayune (New Orleans)

New York Times.

#### Autobiographies.

Atkins, J.A. The Age of Jim Crow. Vantage Press. New York, 1964.

Bass, C.A. Forty Years of Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper.  
Los Angeles, 1960.

Brown, S.N. My Own Life Story. Hamilton Printing Co. Washington  
D.C., 1944.

Corrothers, J.D. In Spite of the Handicap: An Autobiography.  
George H. Doran. New York, 1916.

Dancy, J.C. Sand Against the Wind. Wayne State University Press.  
Detroit, 1966.

Davis, B.J. Communist Councilman from Harlem. International Publishers.  
New York, 1969.

DuBois, W.E.B. Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward An Autobiography of the  
Race Concept. Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York, 1940.

Edwards, W.J. Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt. Cornhill Co.  
Boston, 1918.

Flipper, H.O. The Colored Cadet at West Point. Johnson Reprint  
Corporation. New York, 1968.

\_\_\_\_\_. Negro Frontiersman: the Western memoirs of H.O. Flipper.  
Texas Western College Press, El Paso, 1963.

Fuller, T.O. Twenty Years in Public Life. 1890-1910. National Baptist  
Publishing Board, Nashville, 1910.

Gaudet, F.J. He Leadeth Me. New Orleans, 1913.

Green, E. Ely: Too Black. Too White: An Autobiography.  
University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1970.

- Hedgemann, A.A. The Trumpet Sounds. Holt, Reinhart, Winston. New York, 1964.
- Holley, J.W. You Can't Build A Chimney from the Top. William - Frederick Press. New York, 1948.
- Holtzclaw, W.H. The Black Man's Burden. Neale Publishing Company. New York, 1915.
- Hunter, E.J. A Nickel and a Prayer. Elli Kam Publishing Company. 1940.
- Johnson, J.W. Along This Way: the autobiography of James Weldon Johnson. Viking Press. New York, 1933.
- Jones, L.C. Piney Woods and its Storey. Fleming and Revell Company. New York, 1922.
- Lane, I. The Autobiography of Bishop Isaac Lane, LL.D. Publishing House of the M.E. Church. Nashville, 1916.
- Lynch, J.R. Reminiscences of an Active Life. The Autobiography of John Roy Lynch. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1970.
- Maloney, A.H. Amber Gold: An Adventure in Autobiography. Meader Publishing Company, Boston, 1940.
- Mays, B.E. Born to Rebel. C. Scribners' Sons. New York, 1971.
- McKay, C. A Long Way from Home. Harcourt, Brace & Company. New York, 1970.
- Morant, J.J. Mississippi Minister. Vantage Press. New York, 1958.
- Phillips, C.H. From the Farm to the Bishopric. Parthenon Press. Nashville, 1932.
- Pickens, W. Bursting Bonds. Jordan and More Press. Boston, 1929.
- Powell Snr, A.C. Against the Tide. R.R. Smith. New York, 1938.
- Proctor, H.H. Between Black and White. The Pilgrim Press. Boston, 1925.
- Ranson, R.C. The Pilgrimage of Harriett Ransom's Son. Sunday School Union. Nashville.
- Scheyler, G.S. Black and Conservative. Arlington House Publishers. New Rochelle, New York, 1966.
- Sewing, H.W. Henry Warren Sewing. Founder of the Douglas State Bank: An Autobiography. The Exposition Press. New York, 1971.
- Somerville, J.A. Man of Color. L.L. Morrison. Los Angeles, 1949.
- Terrell, M.C. A Colored Woman in a White World. Ransdell Inc. Publishers. Washington, D.C, 1940.
- Thomas, J.O. My Story in Black and White. Exposition Press. New York, 1967.

Villard, O.G. Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor.  
Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York, 1939.

Walker, T.C. The Honey - Pod Tree. John Day & Co. New York, 1958.

Walters, A. My Life and Work. F.H. Revell Co. New York, 1917.

Washington, B.T. Up from Slavery: An Autobiography. Riverside Press.  
Cambridge, Mass., 1901.

\_\_\_\_\_. My Larger Education: being chapters from my experience.  
Doubleday Page. Garden City, New York, 1911.

Wells-Barnett, I.B. edited by Duster, A: The Autobiography of  
Ida B. Wells. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1971.

White, W.F. A Man Called White. V Gollancz Ltd. London, 1949.

Wright Jnr., R.R. 37 Years Behind the Black Curtain. Rare Book Co.  
Philadelphia, 1965.

#### Literary Works.

Braithwaite, W.S. Lyrics of Life and Love. H.B. Turner & Co. Boston, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. The House of Falling Leaves. J.W. Luce & Co. Boston 1908.

Chesnutt, C.W. The Wife of his Youth and other stories of the color line.  
Houghton Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1899.

\_\_\_\_\_. The House Behind the Cedars. Houghton Mifflin & Co.  
Boston, 1900.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Marrow of Tradition. Arno and New York Times.  
New York, 1969. Reprint of 1901 edition.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Colonel's Dream. Doubleday Page. New York, 1905.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Conjure Woman. Houghton Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1918.

Corrothers, J.D. The Black Cat Club: Negro Humor and Folklore.  
Fund & Wagnalls Company. New York, 1902.

Cotter Snr., J.S. A White Song and a Black One. Bradley & Gilbert Co.  
Louisville, Kty, 1909.

\_\_\_\_\_. Negro Tales. Cosmopolitan Press. New York, 1912.

\_\_\_\_\_. Collected Poems. H. Harrison. New York, 1938.

Cotter Jnr., J.S. The Band of Gideon. Cornhill Company. Boston, 1918.

Cullen, C. On These I Stand. Harper and Row. New York, 1927.



Dunbar, P.L. The Complete Poems of Paul Lawrence Dunbar.  
Dodd, Mead and Company. New York, 1933.

Griggs, S.E. The Needs of the South. Orion Publishing Co.  
Nashville, 1908.

———. Unfettered. Orion Publishing Co. Nashville, 1902.

———. The Hindered Hand. Orion Publishing Co. Nashville, 1905.

———. Imperium in Imperio.

Johnson, F. A Little Dreaming. Peterson Linotyping Co. Chicago, 1913.

———. Tales of Darkest America. Favorite Magazine. Chicago, 1920.

Johnson, G.D. The Heart of a Woman. Cornhill Company. Boston, 1918.

Johnson, J.W. The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man.  
Hill and Wang. New York, 1960.

Kerlin, R.ed., Negro Poets and their Poems. Associated Publishers  
Incorporated. Washington, D.C., 1923.

Pickens, W. The Vengeance of the Gods and three other stories of real  
American color life. A.M.E. Book Concern. Philadelphia, 1922.

#### Other Printed Primary Sources.

Adams, C.F. The National Afro-American Council. Pamphlet. 1900.

———. The Republican Party and the Afro-American. Pamphlet. 1908.

Campbell, T.H. The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer. Tuskegee  
Institute Press. Tuskegee, 1936.

Carnegie, A. The Negro in America: An Address Delivered Before the  
Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh. Committee of Twelve.  
Cheyney, Pa., 1907.

Collins, W.H. The Truth about Lynching and the Negro in the South.  
Neale Publishing Company. New York, 1918.

Cromwell, J.W. The Negro in American History. American Negro Academy.  
Washington, D.C., 1914.

Dabney, W.P. Cincinnati's Colored Citizens. Dabney Publishing Company.  
Cincinnati, 1926.

Daniels, J. In Freedom's Birthplace. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Boston,  
1914.

DuBois, W.E.B. The Philadelphia Negro: a social study. Benjamin Blom,  
Inc. New York, 1967.

———. Souls of Black Folk. Longmans. London, 1965.

———. Darkwater: voices from within the veil. Harcourt,  
Brace and Howe. New York, 1920.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Amenia Conference: An Historic Negro Gathering. Troutbeck Leaflets. New York, 1925.
- Ferris, W. The African Abroad: or His evolution in western civilization tracing his development under Caucasian milieu. 2 vols. Johnson Reprint Company. New York, 1968.
- From Servitude to Service. American Unitarian Association. Boston, 1905.
- Garvey, M.M. Philosophy and Opinions. Arno Press. New York, 1968.
- Gibson, J.W. and Grogman, W.H. Progress of a Race. J.L. Nichols & Company. Naperville, Ill., 1902.
- Hampton Institute. Hampton in Wartime. Hampton Institute Press. Hampton, Va., 1918.
- Johnson, F. For the Highest Good. Favorite Magazine. Chicago, 1920.
- Miller, K. The Education of the Negro. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C., 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. As to the Leopard's Spots. Howard University Press. Washington, D.C., 1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_. An Appeal to Reason. Howard University Press. Washington, D.C., 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Roosevelt and the Negro. Hayworth Publishing House. Washington, D.C., 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Out of the House of Bondage. Neale Publishing Co. New York, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Disgrace of Democracy. Howard University Press. Washington, D.C., 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. An Appeal to Conscience. Macmillan Company. New York, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Negro in the New Reconstruction. Howard University Press. Washington, D.C., 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Our War for Human Rights. Austin, Jenkins Co. Washington, D.C., 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Radicalism and the Negro. Murray Bros. Washington, D.C., 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Race Adjustment and the Everlasting Strain. Arno Press. New York, 1968.
- N.U.L. National Urban League Re-examined. N.U.L. New York, 1955.
- Pickens, W. The New Negro. Neale Publishing Company. New York, 1918.
- Scott, E.J. Scott's Official History of the Negro in the World War Arno Press. New York, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. Negro Migration During the War. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. New York, 1920.

Washington, B.T. The Future of the American Negro. Small, Maynard & Co. Boston, 1899.

\_\_\_\_\_. Character Building: being addresses delivered on Sunday evenings to the students of Tuskegee Institute. Doubleday, Page. New York, 1902.

\_\_\_\_\_. Working with the Hands. Doubleday, Page & Co. London, 1964.

\_\_\_\_\_. Frederick Douglass. G.W. Jacobs & Co. Philadelphia, 1904.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Man Furthest Down. Doubleday, Page & Co. New York, 1912.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tuskegee and its People. Books for Libraries Press. Freeport, New York, 1971.

Washington, B.T. and DuBois, W.E.B. The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to his Moral and Religious Development. G.W. Jacobs and Co. Philadelphia, 1907.

Washington, B.T. and others. The Negro Problem: a series of articles by Representative Negroes of Today. James Pott & Co. New York, 1903.

Wells-Barnett, I.B. A Red Record. Pamphlet. 1895.

White, G.H. In Defense of the Negro Race. Jan. 29, 1901. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C., 1901.

Wright, Jnr., R.R. The Negro in Pennsylvania. A Study in Economic History Arno Press. New York, 1969.

#### Documentary Collections.

Aptheker, H. ed. A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States. 2 vols. Citadel Press. New York, 1951 and 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_. ed. The Papers of W.E.B. DuBois: Vol 1. Correspondence 1877-1934. University of Massachusetts Press. Amherst, 1973.

Brotz, H. ed. Negro Social and Political Thought. 1850-1920: Representative Texts. Basic Books. New York, 1966.

Drexler, M. ed. Black History: A Reappraisal. Doubleday. Garden City, New York, 1968.

Grant, J. ed. Black Protest: History. Documents and Analysis. 1619 to the Present. Fawcett Publications Inc. Greenwich, Conn., 1968.

Harlan, L.R. ed The Booker T. Washington Papers. 2 Vols. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1972.

Hill, A.C. and Kilson, M. ed. A Promise of Africa. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. London, 1969.

Lerner, G. ed Black Women in White America. Vintage Books.  
New York, 1973.

Osofsky, G. ed The Burden of Race. Harper and Row. New York, 1967.

Washington, E.D. ed. Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington.  
Doubleday Doran & Co. Inc. Garden City, New York, 1932.

Woodson, C.G. ed. The Works of Francis J. Grimké. 3 Vols. Associated  
Publishers Inc. Washington, D.C, 1942.

#### Articles in White Periodicals.

Anonymous. 'Negro Leadership'. Missionary Review of the World.  
Vol. 37. July, 1914.

———. 'A Negro Moses and his Plans for a Black Exodus.'  
Literary Digest. Vol. 68. Mar. 19, 1921.

Atkinson, E. 'The Negro a Beast.' North American Review. Vol. 181.  
Aug. 1905.

Baker, A.W. 'First International Congress on the Negro at Tuskegee,  
Alabama.' April 17, 18, 19, 1912. Missionary Review of the World  
Vol. 35. June 1912.

Blackford Jr., C.M. 'Negro Education.' The Arena. Vol. 23. 1900.

Bullock, M.W. 'What Does the Negro Want?' Outlook. Vol. 123.  
Sept. 17, 1919.

Chesnutt, C.W. 'A Defamer of his Race'. The Critic. Vol. 38. April 1901.

Coppin, L.J. 'The American Negro's Religion for the African Negro's  
Soul'. Independent. Vol. 54, Mar. 27, 1902.

Davis, Mrs. J. 'Why We Do Not Want the Phillippines' The Arena.  
Vol. 23. 1900.

Davis, R.H. 'The Black North.' Independent. Vol. 54. Feb. 6, 1902.

DuBois, W.E.B. 'The Freedmen and their Sons.' Independent. Vol. 53.  
Nov. 14, 1901.

———. 'The Burden of Negro Schooling.' Independent.  
Vol. 53. July 18, 1901.

———. 'The Freedmen's Bureau.' Atlantic Monthly. Vol. 87.  
March 1901.

———. 'The Negro As He Really Is.' World's Work. Vol. 2.  
June, 1901.

———. 'Of the Training of Black Men.' Atlantic Monthly.  
Vol. 90. Sept. 1902.



- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Crime and our Colored Population.' Nation. Vol. 75.  
Dec. 25, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Opening of the Library.' Independent. Vol. 54.  
Apr. 3, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Atlanta University Conferences.' Charities.  
Vol. 10. May 2, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Training of Negroes for Social Power.' Outlook.  
Vol. 75. Oct. 17, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Garrison and the Negro.' Independent. Vol. 59. Dec. 7,  
1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'National Committee on the Negro.' Survey. Vol. 22.  
June 12, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Marrying of Black Folk.' Independent. Vol. 69. Oct. 13,  
1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Social Effects of Emancipation.' Survey. Vol. 28.  
May 18, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Negro's Fatherland.' Survey. Vol. 39. Nov. 10, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Republicans and the Black Voter.' Nation. Vol. 110.  
June 5, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Dilemma of the Negro.' American Mercury. Vol. 111.  
1924.
- Fleming, W.L. Review of 'The Negro Church.' Political Science  
Quarterly. Vol. 19. Dec., 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Pap Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus.'  
American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 15. July, 1909.
- Flower, B.O. 'The Greatest Black Man Known to History.' The Arena.  
Vol. 24, 1900.
- Frissell, H.B. 'Negro Education.' Outlook. Vol. 74. Aug. 15, 1903.
- Gordon, E. 'The Negro Press.' American Mercury. Vol. VIII, 1926.
- Grimke, A.H. 'Why Disfranchisement is Bad.' Atlantic Monthly.  
Vol. 94. July, 1904.
- Hawley, W.L. 'Passing of the Race Problem.' The Arena. Vol. 24, 1900.
- Haynes, G.E. 'The Basis of Race Adjustment.' Survey. Vol. 28. May 18,  
1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Negro and National Reconstruction.' Public.  
Vol. 22. Feb. 8, 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'What the Negro Thinks of Race Riots.' Public.  
Vol. 22. Aug. 9, 1919.



- Hernirig, K.M. 'How the Southern Negro Is Supporting the Government.' Outlook. Vol. 120. Nov. 20, 1918.
- Hilyer, A.F. 'The Higher Education for Colored Youth.' Popular Science Monthly. Vol. 57. Aug., 1900.
- Holsey, A.L. 'Learning How to be Black.' American Mercury. Vol. XVI. 1929.
- Holtzclaw, W.H. 'A Negro's Life Story.' World's Work. Vol. 12. Sept., 1906.
- Hussey, L.M. 'The Afro-American, North and South,' American Mercury Vol. VII. 1926.
- Johnson, James Weldon, 'A Negro Looks at Race Prejudice.' American Mercury. Vol. XIV. 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Dilemma of the Negro Author.' American Mercury. Vol. XV. 1929.
- Krapp, G.P. 'The English of the Negro.' American Mercury. Vol. 11. 1924.
- Leupp, F.E. 'Why Booker Washington has Succeeded in his Life Work.' Outlook. Vol. 71. May 31, 1902.
- Mebane, G.A. 'The Negro Vindicated.' The Arena. Vol. 24. 1900.
- Miller, E. 'The Negro and Education.' Forum. Vol. 30. Feb., 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Function of the Negro College.' Dial. Vol. 32. April 16, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'A Great Negro Enterprise.' New England Magazine. Vol. 32. Aug., 1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Forty Years of Negro Education.' Education Review. Vol. 36. Dec., 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Negro As A Working Man.' American Mercury. Vol. VI. 1925.
- Moton, R.R. 'Fifty Thousand and Fifty Million.' Outlook. Vol. 120. Nov. 20., 1918.
- Ovington, M.W. 'The Negro in America: Today and Tomorrow.' Survey. Vol. 28. May 18, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The American Negro and the World War.' World's Work. Vol. 36. May, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'An Inter-racial Commission at Work.' Outlook. Vol. 129. Sept. 14, 1921.
- Page, T.N. 'The Negro: The Southern's Problem.' McClure's Magazine. Vol. 22. March and April, 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Disfranchisement of the Negro.' Scribner's Magazine. Vol. 36. July, 1904.

Parker, J.H. 'What Shall We Do With the Phillippines?' Forum.  
Vol. 32. Feb., 1902.

Pickens, W. 'What Talladega College Is Doing for the American Negro.'  
Missionary Review of the World. June 28, 1905.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line.' Nation. Vol. III.  
Oct. 6., 1920.

Poe, C. 'Suffrage Restriction in the South.' North American Review.  
Vol. 175. Oct., 1902.

Scarborough, W.S. 'Negro Folk Lore and Dialect.' The Arena. Vol. 17.  
1896-97.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Lawlessness vs Lawlessness.' The Arena. Vol. 24.  
1900.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Negro and Higher Learning.' Forum. Vol. 33.  
May, 1902.

Schurz, G. 'Can the South Solve the Negro Problem?' McClure's Magazine.  
Vol. 22. Jan., 1904.

Smith, R.C. 'Negro Leadership in America.' World's Work. Vol. 41.  
Mar. 2, 1921.

Symposium. 'The Race Problem.' The Arena. Vol. 21. 1899.

Talley, T.H. 'Garvey's Empire of Ethiopia.' World's Work. Vol. 41.  
Jan., 1921.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Marcus Garvey - the Negro Moses?' World's Work.  
Vol. 41. Dec., 1921.

Tillinghast, J.A. 'Review of "The Negro Artisan."' Political Science.  
Quarterly. Vol. 19. Dec., 1904.

Walling, W.E. 'The Race War in America.' Independent. Vol. 65.  
Aug. 20., 1908.

Washington, B.T. 'Signs of Progress Among the Negroes.' Century.  
Vol. 59. Jan., 1900.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Montgomery Race Conference.' Century. Vol. 60.  
Aug., 1900.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Education Will Solve the Race Problem.'  
North American Review. Vol. 171. Aug., 1900.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Salvation of the Negro.' World's Work.  
Vol. 2. July, 1901.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The National Negro Business League.' World's Work.  
Vol. 4. Oct., 1902.

- . 'Two Generations under Freedom.' Outlook. Vol. 73.  
Feb. 7., 1903.
- . 'The Successful Training of the Negro.' World's Work.  
Vol. 6. Aug., 1903.
- . 'The Fruits of Industrial Training.' Atlantic Monthly.  
Vol. 92. Oct., 1903.
- . 'Heroes in Black Skins.' Century. Vol. 66. Sept., 1903.
- . 'Achievements of Negroes.' Independent. Vol. 67.  
Sept. 30., 1909.
- . 'The Negro's Place in American Life.' Outlook. Vol. 93.  
Nov. 13, 1909.
- . 'The Negro and the Solid South.' Independent. Vol. 67.  
Nov. 25, 1909.
- . 'Is the Negro Having a Fair Chance?' Century Magazine.  
Vol. 84. 1912.
- . 'Fifty Years of Negro Progress: Some Indisputable  
Evidence.' Forum. Vol. 55. March, 1916.
- Washington, M.M. 'The Gain in the Life of Negro Women.' Outlook.  
Vol. 76. Feb. 20, 1904.
- . 'Are We Making Good?' Independent. Vol. 84.  
Oct. 4, 1915.
- Wells-Barnett, I.B. 'Our Country's Lynching Record.' Survey.  
Vol. 29. Feb. 1, 1913.
- . 'Lynch Law in America.' The Arena. Vol. 23. 1900.
- . 'The Negro's Case in Equity.' Independent.  
Vol. 52. April 26, 1910.
- Work, M.N. 'Crime Among the Negroes of Chicago.' American Journal  
of Sociology. Vol. 6. 1900-01.
- . 'Self-Help Among Negroes.' Survey. Vol. 22. Aug. 7, 1909.

Editorials have not been individually listed.

Secondary Sources.Unpublished Theses or Articles.

Avery, S.B. Up From Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality. 1900-1954. Ph.D. University of Oregon. 1970.

Belcher, F.S. The Place of the Negro in the Evolution of the American Theatre 1767-1940. Ph.D. Yale University. 1945.

Bott, L.M. The Negro As Displayed in Harper's Magazine, 1901-24. M.A. Howard University. 1951.

Brisbane, R.H. The Rise of Protest Movements Among Negroes since 1900. Ph.D. Harvard University. 1949.

Coleman, L.D. The Contribution of Carl Van Vechten to the Negro Renaissance. Ph.D. University of Minnesota. 1969.

Cripps, T.R. The Lily-White Republicans. Ph.D. University of Maryland. 1967.

Davis, D.D. The Negro As Portrayed in the Atlantic Monthly, 1901-1912. M.A. Howard University. 1959.

Duffield, I. Duse Mohammed Ali and the Development of Pan-Africanism, 1866-1945. Ph.D. University of Edinburgh. 1972.

Ellison, J.H. Negro Organizations and Leadership in relation to Rural Life in Virginia. Manuscript, 1933, at Hampton Institute.

Grothaus, L.M. The Negro in Missouri Politics. Ph.D. University of Missouri. 1970.

Hill, A.C. The Negro Upper-Class in Boston: Its Development and Present Social Structure. Ph.D. Radcliffe University. 1952.

Hines, L.E.O. A Black Sociologist in Time of Trouble: Monroe Nathan Work 1866-1945. M.A. University of Alabama at Auburn. 1972.

Jordan, O.L. The Political Status of the Negro in Boston. M.A. Howard University. 1952.

King, K.J. The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and their influences in Education in East Africa. Ph.D. University of Edinburgh. 1968.

Kounitze, M. Monroe Mason, Monroe Trotter and the Boston Guardian. Ms. in Moorland Room, Howard University. 1965.

----- A History of the Early Colored Press in Massachusetts and a Second Sketch of the Boston Guardian. Ms. in Moorland Room, Howard University. 1967.

Lamon, L.C. Negroes in Tennessee. 1900-1930. Ph.D. University of North Carolina. 1971.

Mann, K.E. Black Leaders in National Politics. 1873-1943: A Study in Legislative Persuasion. Ph.D. University of Indiana. 1971.

Miller, M.I. The American Negro Academy: An Intellectual Movement During the Era of Negro Disfranchisement. M.A. Howard University. 1966.

Page, E.S. Social Darwinism in the United States and its Racial Implications. M.A. Howard University. 1948.

Rice, H.M. The Negro As Portrayed in the Boston Evening Transcript. M.A. Howard University. 1951.

Tobin, S.S. Debates on Negro Problems in Congress. 1907-21. M.A. Howard University. 1961.

Toppin, E.A. The American Negro. 1901-21. As Portrayed in the New York Times. M.A. Howard University. 1950.

Walker, A.A. An Experiment in Non-partisanship by the Negro, 1884-1903. M.A. Howard University. 1958.

#### Books.

Abrams, R.M. Issues of the Populist and Progressive Eras 1892-1912. Harper & Row. New York, 1969.

Abramson, D.E. Negro Playwrights in the American Theatre 1925-1959. Columbia University Press. New York, 1967.

Adams, R.L. Great Negroes Past and Present. Afro-American Pub. Co. Chicago, 1969.

Alker Jnr., H.R. Mathematics and Politics. Macmillan Co. New York, 1965.

Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice. Addison-Wesley Publ. Co. Inc. Cambridge. Mass., 1954.

The American Negro Writer and his Roots. The American Society of African Culture. New York, 1960.

Aptheker, H. Toward Negro Freedom. New Century Publishers. New York, 1956.

Atlantic Monthly (ed.). Atlantic Classics. The Atlantic Monthly Co. Boston, 1916.

Bailey Jnr., H.A. Negro Politics in America. C.E. Herrill Books. Columbus, Ohio, 1967.

Baker, R.S. Following the Color Line. Doubleday Page & Co. New York, 1908.



- Ballard, M. (ed.) New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History. Temple Smith Ltd. London, 1970.
- Banfield, E.C. Political Influence. The Free Press of Glencoe. New York, 1961.
- Banton, M. Race Relations. Tavistock Publications Ltd. London, 1967.
- Bardolph, R. The Negro Vanguard. Rinehart. New York, 1959.
- . The Civil Rights Record. Cromwell Publications. New York, 1970.
- Barron, M.L. (ed.) American Minorities. A.A. Kropf. New York, 1957.
- Barton, R.C. Witnesses for Freedom. Harper & Bros. New York, 1948.
- Bass, B.M. Leadership, Psychology and Organizational Behavior. Harper and Row. New York, 1960.
- Bendix, R. and Lipsit, S. Class, Status and Power. The Free Press. New York, 1966.
- Bennett, L. Pioneers in Protest. Johnson Publ. Co. Chicago, 1968.
- Berelson, B.R. and Lazarsfield, P.F. The Analysis of Communication Content. Microfilm of preliminary draft, March 1948.
- Bettelheim, B. and Janowitz M. Social Change and Prejudice (including The Dynamics of Prejudice). The Free Press of Glencoe. New York, 1964.
- Billingsley, Black Families in White America. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1968.
- Bittle, W.E. and Geiss, G. The Longest Way Home. Wayne State University Press. Detroit, 1964.
- Blassingame, J.W. The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South. Oxford University Press. New York, 1972.
- Bond, H.M. The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. Prentice Hall. New York, 1934.
- Bone, R.A. The Negro Novel in America. Yale University Press. New Haven, 1958.
- Bontemps, A. We Have To-morrow. Riverside Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1945.
- and Conroy, J. Anyplace But Here. Hill and Wang. New York, 1966.
- Bottomore, T.B. Elites and Society. C.A. Watts and Co. London, 1964.
- Boulware, M. The Oratory of Negro Leaders 1900-1968. Negro University Press. Westport, Conn., 1969.

- Bracey, J., Rudwick E. and Meier, A. The Black Sociologists. Wadsworth Publ. Co. Inc. Belmont, Calif., 1970.
- Brawley, B.G. The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States. Duffield & Co. New York, 1918.
- Women of Achievement. Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1919.
- Negro Builders and Heroes. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1937
- Brigman, W.E. and Vandervool, J. S. (ed.). The Fiber of Democracy. Canfield Press. San Francisco, 1970.
- Broderick, F.L. W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a time of crisis. Stanford University Press. Stanford, 1959.
- Bronz, S.H. Roots of Negro Racial Consciousness. Libra Publishers Inc. New York, 1964.
- Brooks M.R. The Negro Press Re-examined. The Christopher Publ. House. Boston 1959.
- Broom, L. and Glenn, N.D. The Transformation of the Negro American. Harper and Row. New York, 1965.
- Brotz, H.M. The Black Jews of Harlem. Schocken Books, New York, 1970.
- Brotz, H. Negro Social and Political Thought 1850-1920. Basic Books Inc. New York, 1966.
- Brown, H.Q. Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction. The Aldene Publ. Co. Xenia, Ohio, 1926.
- Brown, S.A. The Negro in American Fiction. Associates in Negro Folk Education. Washington D.C., 1937.
- The Negro Caravan. Dryden Press. New York, 1941.
- Negro Poetry and Drama. Atheneum. New York, 1969.
- Bryce, J.W. The American Commonwealth. Macmillan Co. New York, 1918.
- Buckler, H. Doctor Dan: Pioneer in American Surgery. Little Brown & Co. Boston, 1954.
- Bullock, R.W. In Spite of Handicaps. Association Press. New York, 1927.
- Buni, A. The Negro in Virginia Politics. University of Virginia Press. Charlottesville, 1967.
- Burgess, M.E. Negro Leadership in a Southern City. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1962.
- Burstall, S.A. Impressions of American Education in 1908. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1909.

- Butcher, M.J. The Negro in American Culture: based on materials left by Alain Leroy Locke. Mentor. New York, 1971.
- Caliver, A. A Personnel Study of Negro College Students. Bureau of Publications Teachers College. Columbia, New York, 1931.
- . A Background Study of Negro College Students. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington D.C. 1933.
- Carmichael, S. and Hamilton C.V. Black Power. Jonathon Cape. London, 1968.
- Cass, D.A. Negro Freemasonry and Segregation. Ezra A. Cook Publ. Inc. Chicago, 1957.
- Chapman, A. Black Voices. Mentor. New York, 1968.
- Cherry, G. Portraits in Color. Pageant Press. New York, 1962.
- Chesnutt, C.W. Frederick Douglass. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. London, 1899.
- Chesnutt, H.M. Charles Waddell Chesnutt. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1952.\*
- Clark, E.T. The Small Sects in America. Abingdon - Cokesbury Press. New York, 1949
- Clark, K.B. Dark Ghetto. Victor Gollancz Ltd. London, 1965.
- Clarke, J.H. (ed.). Malcolm X: The Man and his Times. Macmillan Co. Toronto. 1969.
- Cronon, E.D. Black Moses: Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. University of Wisconsin Press. Madison 1955.
- Crossman, R.H.S. (ed.). The God That Failed. Hamish Hamilton. London, 1950.
- Cruse, H. The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual. William Morrow & Co. New York, 1967.
- Curti, M. The Growth of American Thought. 3rd edition. Harper & Row. New York, 1964.
- . The Social Ideas of American Educators. Littlefield, Adams & Co. Totowa, N.J., 1966.
- Daniel, S.I. Women Builders. Assoc. Publ. Inc. Washington D.C., 1931.
- Davis, A. and Dollard J. Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South. American Council of Education. Washington D.C. 1940.
- Davis, A., Gardner, B.B. and Gardner, M.R. Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1941.

- Davis, H.E. A History of freemasonry among Negroes in America. Cleveland (?) 1946.
- Davis, J.P. (ed.). The American Negro Reference Book. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966.
- Day, B. The Little Professor of Pine Woods. Julian Messner, Inc. New York, 1955.
- de Huszar, G.B. (ed.). The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait. The Free Press of Glencoe. Illinois, 1960.
- De Santis, V.P. Republicans face the Southern question: the new departure years, 1877-1897. John Hopkins Press. Baltimore, 1959.
- Detweiler, F.G. The Negro Press in the United States. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1922.
- Dillard, J.L. Black English. Vintage Books. New York, 1972.
- Dollard, J. Caste and Class in a Southern Town. Harper and Bros. New York, 1937.
- Dover, C. American Negro Art. W. & J. Mackay & Co. Chatham, Kent, 1960.
- Drake, C. and Clayton, H. Black Metropolis. Jonathon Cape, London, 1946.
- Draper, T. The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism. Viking Press. New York, 1969.
- Dreer, H. American Literature by Negro Authors. Macmillan Co. New York, 1950.
- Ebony (ed.). The Negro Handbook. Jonathon Publ. Co. Inc. Chicago, 1966.
- Edwards, G.F. The Negro Professional Class. The Free Press of Glencoe. Illinois, 1959.
- Elliot, L. George Washington Carver: The Man Who Overcame. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966.
- Embree, E.R. Julius Rosenwald Fund - A Review to June 30 1928. (Ibid. 1929). J. Rosenwald Fund. Chicago 1928 (1929).
- . 13 Against the Odds. Viking Press. New York, 1944.
- . Brown America. Viking Press. New York, 1931.
- . American Negroes: A Handbook. John Day Co. New York, 1942.
- Essien - Udon, E.U. Black Nationalism. Pelican Books. Chicago, 1966.
- Factor, R.L. The Black Response to America. Addison-Wesley Publ. Co. Reading, Mass., 1970.
- Fauset, A.H. Black Gods of the Metropolis. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 1944.

- Fleming, G.J. and Burckel, C.E. (ed.). Who's Who in Colored America. 7th edition. C.E. Burckel & Assoc. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1950.
- Ford, N.A. The Contemporary Negro Novel. Meader Publ. Co. Boston, 1936.
- Fox, S.R. The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter. Atheneum. New York, 1970.
- Franklin, J.H. From Slavery to Freedom. 2nd edition. A.A. Knopf Inc. New York, 1963.
- Frazier, E.F. The Black Bourgeoisie. The Free Press Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Negro Church in America. Liverpool University Press. Liverpool, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Negro in the United States. The Macmillan Company. New York, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Negro Family in the United States. Phoenix Books. Chicago, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) by Edwards, G.F. On Race Relations: Selected Writings. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1968.
- Frederickson, G.M. The Black Image in the White Mind. Harper & Row. New York, 1971.
- Fullinwider, S.P. The Mind and Mood of Black America. Dorsey Press. Homewood, Ill., 1969.
- Gallacher, B.G. American Caste and the Negro College. Columbia University Press. New York, 1938.
- Garraty, J.A. Quarrels That Have Shaped The Constitution. Harper & Row. New York, 1966.
- Garvey, A.J. Garvey and Garveyism. United Printers Ltd. Kingston, Jamaica, 1963.
- Gayle Jr., A. (ed.). The Black Aesthetic. Doubleday & Co. Inc. New York, 1971.
- Gosnell, H. Negro Politicians. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1935.
- Gerth, H.H. and Mills C.W. (ed.). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1948.
- Gibb, C.A. (ed.). Leadership. Penguin, Middlesex, 1969.
- Ginzberg, E. The Middle Class Negro in the White Man's World. Columbia University Press. New York, 1967.



- Gloster, H. Negro Voices in American Fiction. University of North Columbia Press. Richmond, Va., 1948.
- Golden, J.L. and Rieke, R.D. The Rhetoric of Black Americans. Merrill Publ. Co. Columbus, Ohio, 1971.
- Gordon, M.M. Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press. New York, 1964.
- Gossett, T.F. Race: The History of an Idea in America. Schocken Books. New York, 1965.
- Gouldner, A.W. Studies in Leadership. Harper & Bros. New York, 1950.
- Greene, H.W. Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes. Meador Publ. Co. Boston, 1946.
- . Negro Leaders. West Virginia State College. Institute, West. Virginia, 1936.
- Greene, J.C. Darwin and the Modern World View. Mentor. New York, 1963.
- Grusky, O. and Miller G.A. The Sociology of Organizations: Basic Studies. The Free Press. New York, 1970.
- Halsell, G. Soul Sister. William Collins & Co. London, 1971.
- Hamilton, W.G. Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly. Duke University Press. Durham N.C., 1952.
- Hare, M.C. Norris Wright Cuney: a tribune of the Black people. Steck Vaughn. Austin, Tex., 1968.
- Harlan, L.R. Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader. Vol.I. Oxford University Press. New York, 1972.
- Hartshorn, W.N.(ed.). The Clifton Conference: An Era of Progress and Promise 1863-1910. Priscilla Publ. Co. Boston, 1910.
- Hartz, L. The Liberal Tradition in America. Harcourt Brace & Co. New York, 1955.
- Hawkins, H. Booker T. Washington and his Critics. D.C. Heath & Co. Boston, 1962.
- Haynes, E.R. Unsung Heroes. Dubois & Dill. New York, 1921.
- Hernton, C.C. Sex and Racism. Paladin. London, 1970.
- Herskovits, M. The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afro-American Studies. Indiana University Press. Bloomington, 1966.
- Hill, H. Soon. One Morning. A.A. Knopf. New York, 1963.
- Hill, R.L. Rhetoric of Racial Revolt. Golden Bell Press, Denver, Col., 1964.

Who's Who in the American Negro Press. Royal Publ. Co.  
Dallas, Tex., 1960.

Hixson Jr., W.B. Moorfield Storey and the Abolitionist Tradition.  
Oxford University Press. New York, 1972.

Hofstadter, R. Social Darwinism in American Thought. Beacon Press.  
Boston, 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Progressive Movement 1900-1915. Prentice-Hall Inc.  
Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963.

\_\_\_\_\_. Anti Intellectualism in American Life. Jonathon Cape.  
London, 1964.

Hollander, E.P. and Hunt, R.G. (eds.). Current Perspectives in Social  
Psychology. Oxford University Press. New York, 1963.

Holmes, D.O. W. The Evolution of the Negro College. Reprint. Arno Press.  
New York, 1969.

Holt, R. Mary McLeod Bethune. Doubleday. New York, 1964.

\_\_\_\_\_. George Washington Carver. Doubleday New York, 1943.

Howe, M.A. De W. The Atlantic Monthly and its Makers. The Atlantic  
Monthly Press Inc. Boston, 1919.

Higgins, H. Harlem Renaissance. Oxford University Press. New York, 1971.

Hughes, L. Fight for Freedom: The Story of the N.A.A.C.P. W.W.  
Norton & Co. Inc. New York, 1962.

Hughes, W.H. and Patterson, F.D. (ed.). Robert Russa Moten. The  
University of North Carolina Press. New York, 1956.

Ions, E. (ed.). Political and Social Thought in America 1870-1910.  
Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London, 1970.

Jack, R.L. History of the National Association for the Advancement of  
Colored People. Meador Publ. Co. Boston, 1943.

Jaker, F.C. Doubters and Dissenters: Cataclysmic Thought in America,  
1885-1918. The Free Press of Glencoe. London, 1964.

Jennings, E.E. An Anatomy of Leadership. Harper & Bros. New York, 1966.

Johnson, C.S. Patterns of Negro Segregation. Victor Gollancz. London,  
1944.

\_\_\_\_\_. Shadows of the Plantation. University of Chicago Press.  
Chicago, 1934.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Negro College Graduate. University of North Carolina  
Press. Chapel Hill, 1939.

- Johnson, J.W. Black Manhattan. Arno Press and New York Times. New York, 1968.
- . The Race Problem and World Peace. N.A.A.C.P. New York, 1924.
- Jones, L.G. E. Negro Schools in the Southern States. The Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1928.
- Jones, T.J. Education in Africa. Phelps-Stokes Fund. New York, 1922.
- Kellogg, C.F. N.A.A.C.P. Vol.I 1909-20. John Hopkins Press. Baltimore, 1967.
- Key Jnr., V.O. Southern Politics. Vintage Books. New York, 1949.
- . Public Opinion and American Democracy. A.A. Knopf. New York, 1964.
- Lane, R.E. Political Lane. The Free Press of Glencoe. Glencoe. Ill., 1959.
- Leavell, U.W. Philanthropy in Negro Education. George Peabody College for Teachers. Nashville, 1930.
- Lincoln, E.C. The Black Muslims in America. Beacon Press. Boston, 1961.
- Lipsit, S. Political Man. Heinemann. London, 1960.
- Locke, A. (ed.). The New Negro: An Interpretation. Albert and Charles Boni Inc. New York, 1925.
- Logan, R.W. The Betrayal of the Negro. Collier-Macmillan Ltd. London, 1969.
- . W.E.B. DuBois: A Profile. Hill and Wang. New York, 1971.
- and Winston M.R. The Negro in the United States. Vol.II: The Ordeal of Democracy. Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. New York, 1971.
- Lomax, L.E. The Negro Revolt. Revised edition. Harper & Row. New York, 1971.
- Lyle, J. (ed.). The Black American and the Press. The Ward Ritchie Press. Los Angeles, 1968.
- Makonnen, R. and King, K.J. Pan Africanism from within. Oxford University Press. London, 1973.
- Majoro, M.A. Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities. Donohue & Herneberry. Chicago, 1893.
- Margolies, E. Nature Sons. J.P. Lippincot & Co. Philadelphia, 1968.
- Mason, P. Common Sense About Race. Victor Gollancz Ltd. London, 1961.
- Mathews, B. Booker T. Washington - Educator and Inter-racial interpreter. S.C.M. Press. London, 1949.

- Mays, B.E. and Nicholson, J.E. The Negro's Church. Institute of Social and Religious Research. New York, 1931.
- Mays, B.E. The Negro's God as Reflected in his Literature. Chapman and Grimes Ltd. Boston, 1938.
- Mead, J. and Baldwin, J. A Rap on Race. Michael Joseph Ltd. London, 1971.
- Meier, A. Negro Thought in America 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington. University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1963.
- . Rudwick, E. and Brace, J.H. Black Nationalism in America. Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc. New York, 1970.
- Metcalf, G.R. Black Profiles. McGraw Hill Book Co. New York, 1968.
- Mills, C.W. The Power Elite. Oxford University Press. New York, 1956.
- Moton, R.R. What the Negro Thinks. Student Christian Movement. London, 1929.
- Murray, R.K. Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria 1919-1920. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, 1955.
- Myrdal, G. An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. 2 Vols. Harper and Bros. New York, 1944.
- McKay, C. Harlem: Negro Metropolis. E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc. New York, 1940.
- Nannes, C.H. Politics in the American Drama: As Revealed by Plays Produced on the New York Stage. U. Penn. Philadelphia, 1950.
- Newby, I.A. Jim Crow's Defense. Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge, 1965.
- Newby, I.A. (ed.). The Development of Segregationist Thought. Dorsey Press. Homewood, Ill., 1968.
- New York Times. The History of Violence in America. Bantam Books. New York, 1969.
- Nixon, R.B. Henry W. Grady. A.A. Knopf. New York, 1943.
- Oak, V.V. The Negro Newspaper. Antioch Press. Yellow Springs. Ohio, 1948.
- O'Neill, W.L. The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1969.
- Osofsky, G. Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto. Harper & Row. New York, 1963.
- Ottley, R. Black Odyssey. John Murray. London, 1949.
- . The Lonely Warrior: The Life and Times of Robert S. Abbott. Henry Regnery Co. Ltd. Chicago, 1955.



- Ovington, M.W. Half A Man. Longmans, Green & Co. New York, 1911.
- . Portraits in Color. The Viking Press. New York, 1927.
- . The Walls Came Tumbling Down. Harcourt, Brace & Co. New York, 1947.
- Parker, R.A. The Incredible Messiah: The Deification of Father Divine. Little Brown & Co. Boston, 1937.
- Parris, G. and Brooks, L. Blacks in the City. Little Brown & Co. Boston, 1971.
- Paulson, R.E. Radicalism & Reform: The Vrooman Family and American Social Thought, 1837-1937. University of Kentucky, Kty., 1968.
- Pease, W. and Pease, J. Black Utopia. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Madison, 1963.
- Penn, I.G. The Afro-American Press and Its Editors. Arno Press and New York Times. New York, 1969.
- Pettigrew, T.F. A Profile of the Negro American. Van Nostrand Co. Inc. Princeton, 1964.
- Powell Jr., A.C. Marching Blacks: An Interpretive History of the Rise of the Black Common Man. The Dial Press. New York, 1945.
- . Keep the Faith, Baby! Trident Press Ltd. New York, 1967.
- Rainwater, L. and Yancey, W.L. The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy. M.I.T. Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1967.
- Record, W. The Negro and the Communist Party. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1951.
- Redding, J.S. The Lonesome Road. Doubleday. New York, 1958.
- . On Being Negro in America. Bantam Books. New York, 1964.
- . To Make A Poet Black. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1939.
- Redkey, E.S. Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to Africa Movements 1890-1910. Yale University Press. New Haven, 1969.
- Reeves, F.W. Education for Rural America. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1945.
- Regier, C.C. The Era of the Muckrakers. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1932.
- Reuter, E.B. Race Mixture: Studies in Inter-marriages and Miscegenation. Whittlesey House. New York, 1971.
- Richardson, B. Great American Negroes. Thomas Crowell Co. New York, 1945.



- Rollins, C.H. They Showed the Way. Thomas Crowell Co. New York, 1964.
- Rose, H.M. The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective. McGraw-Hill Inc. Baskerville, 1970.
- Ross, B.J. J.E. Spingarn and the Rise of the N.A.A.C.P. Atheneum, New York, 1972.
- Rudwick, E. and Meier, A. From Plantation to Ghetto. Hill and Wang. New York, 1966.
- Rudwick, E.M. Race Riot at East St. Louis. Southern Illinois University Press. Carbondale, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1960.
- Savage, H.S. The Life and Times of Isaac Lane. National Publishing Co. Nashville, 1958.
- Schneider, L. Religion, Culture and Society. John Wiley & Sons. New York, 1964.
- Schneider, S.M. Negro Mecca. New York University Press. New York, 1965.
- Scruggs, A.M. Women of Distinction. Scruggs Publ. Raleigh, N.C., 1893.
- Shannon, D.A. Progressivism and Post-War Disillusion 1898-1928. McGraw-Hill. New York, 1966.
- Shapiro, H. (ed.). The Muckrakers and American Society. Raytheon Education Co. Boston, Mass., 1968.
- Sheppard, G.B. Mary Church Terrell: Respectable Person. Human Relations Press. Baltimore, 1959.
- Simmons, W.J. Men of mark: eminent, progressive and rising. Arno Press. New York, 1968.
- Simpson, G.E. The Negro in the Philadelphia Press. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 1936.
- Smith, A.D. George Washington Carver: Man of God. Perry Publ. Co. Middletown, Ohio, 1961.
- Spear, A.H. Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1967.
- Spencer, S.P. Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life. Little Brown. Boston, 1955.
- St. James, W.D. N.A.A.C.P.: A Case Study in Pressure Groups. Exposition Press. New York, 1958.
- Strickland, A.E. History of the Chicago Urban League. University of Illinois Press. Urbana, 1966.

- Styles, F.L. The Negro Lawyer's Contribution to 71 Years of Our Progress. The Summer Press. Philadelphia, 1934.
- . Negroes and the Law. The Christopher Publishing House. Boston, 1937.
- Tead, O. The Art of Leadership. McGraw-Hill. New York, 1935.
- Thayer, V.T. and Levit, M. The Role of the School in American Society. Dodd, Mead & Co. New York, 1966.
- Thayer, V.T. Formative Ideas in American Education. Dodd, Mead & Co. New York, 1965.
- Thompson, D. The Negro Leadership Class. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1963.
- Thornborough, E.L. Booker T. Washington. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969.
- . T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1972.
- Thorpe, E.E. Black Historians. William Morrow & Co. New York, 1971.
- . The Mind of the Negro. Negro Universities Press. Westpoint. Conn. 1961.
- Timberlake, J.H. Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1910. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1963.
- Torrence, R. The Story of John Hope. Macmillan Co. New York, 1948.
- Tufte, E.R. The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems. Addison-Wesley Publ. Co. Reading, Mass., 1970.
- Uya, O.E. From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls 1839-1915. Oxford University Press. London, 1971.
- Van Deusen, J.G. The Black Man in White America. Assoc. Publ. Inc. Washington D.C., 1938.
- Vann Woodward, C. The burden of southern history. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge, 1960.
- . The strange career of Jim Crow. 2nd. revised edition. Oxford University Press. New York, 1966.
- Vassar, R.L. Social History of American Education, Vol. 11. 1860 to the Present. Rand, McNally & Co. Chicago, 1965.
- Vincent, T.G. Black Power and the Garvey Movement. The Ramparts Press Berkeley, 1971.
- Voorhis, H.V. Negro masonry in the United States. H.E. Emmerson. New York, 1940.

- Vroman, M.E. Shaped To Its Purpose: Delta Sigma Theta. Random House. New York, 1965.
- Washington, J.R. The Politics of God. Beacon Press. Boston, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Black Religion. Beacon Press. Boston, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Black Sects and Cults. Doubleday. New York, 1972.
- Weaver, W. U.S. Philanthropic Foundations. Harper & Row. New York, 1967.
- Weeks, E. and Flint, E. (ed.). Jubilee: One Hundred Years of The Atlantic. The Atlantic Monthly Press Co. Boston, 1957.
- Weinstein, J. The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1964.
- Wesley, C.H. History of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, 1898-1954. A.S.N.L.H. Washington D.C. 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The History of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the State of Ohio, 1849-1960. Central State College Press. Wilberforce, Ohio, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The History of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. Howard University Press. Washington, D.C., 1929.
- Wharton, V.L. The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1947.
- White, P.C. A Gentle Knight: My Husband, Walter White. Rinehart & Co. Inc. New York, 1956.
- White, W.F. How Far The Promised Land? The Viking Press. New York, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch. A.A. Knopf. New York, 1929.
- Wiebe, R.H. The Search for Order 1877-1920. Macmillan. London, 1967.
- Wilson, J.Q. Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership. Free Press of Glencoe. Glencoe, Ill. 1960.
- Wilson, R.J. Reform, Crisis and Confusion 1900-1929. Random House, New York, 1970.
- Wish, H. Society and Thought in Modern America. 2nd Vol. Longmans, Green and Company. New York, 1952.
- Woodson, C.G. The History of the Negro Church. Assoc. Publ. Inc. Washington D.C., 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Miseducation of the Negro. Assoc. Publ. Inc. Washington D.C., 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_ Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830.  
A.S.N.L.H. Washington D.C., 1925.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Rural Negro. A.S.N.L.H. Washington D.C., 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Wesley C. The Negro in Our History. 11th edition.  
Associated Publishers Inc. Washington D.C., 1966.

Wright, R. Twelve Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States. The Viking Press. New York, 1941.

\_\_\_\_\_. Uncle Tom's Children. Harper & Bros. New York, 1938.

Yates, E. Howard Thurmann: Portrait of a Practical Dreamer. John Day & Co. New York, 1964.

#### Articles.

Amiri, J. 'Redefinition: Concept As Being'. Black World. Vol.XXI. 1972.

Aptheker, H. 'The Washington-DuBois Controversy.' Science and Society. Vol.13.1949.

Bardolph, R. 'The Distinguished Negro in America.' American Historical Review. Vol.LX.1954-55.

Bayton, J.A. and Bell, E. 'An Explanatory Study of the Role of the Negro Press.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XX.1951.

Bethune, M.M. 'The Negro in Prospect and Retrospect.' Journal of Negro History. Vol. XXXV. 1950.

Biddiss, M.D. 'The Universal Races Congress of 1911.' Race. Vol.13. 1971-72.

Bloch, H.D. 'Labor and The Negro, 1866-1910.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.L.1965.

Braithwaite, W.S. 'Alain Locke's Relationship to the Negro in American Literature.' Phylon. Vol.XVIII.1957-58.

Brisbane Jnr., R.H. 'Some New Light on the Garvey Movement.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXXVI.1951.

Broderick, F.L. 'The Academic Training of W.E.B. DuBois.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXVII.1958.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'German Influence on the Scholarship of W.E.B. DuBois.' Phylon. Vol.XIX.1958.

Carroll, R.A. 'Black Racial Spirit: An Analysis of James Weldon Johnson's Critical Perspective.' Phylon. Vol.32.1971.

- Chaffee, M.L. 'W.E.B. DuBois' Concept of the Racial Problem in the United States: The Early Negro Education Movement.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLI.1956.
- Contee, C.G. 'The Emergence of DuBois as an African Nationalist' Journal of Negro History. Vol.LIV.1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'DuBois, the N.A.A.C.P. and the Pan-African Congress of 1919.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.57.1972.
- Cothram, T.C. and Phillips, Junr., W. 'Negro Leadership in a Crisis Situation.' Phylon. Vol.XXII.1961.
- Grofts, D.W. 'The Warner - Foraker Amendment to the Hepburn Bill: Friend or Foe of Jim Crow.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.XXXIX.1973.
- DuBois, W.E.B. 'The Study of Negro Problems.' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol.XI.1898.
- Echuerro, M.J.C. 'American Negro Poetry.' Phylon. Vol. XXIV.1963.
- Edmunds, E.R. 'The Myrdalian Hypothesis: The Rank Order of Discrimination.' Phylon. Vol.XV.1954.
- Eisenberg, B. 'Kelly Miller: The Negro Leader As A Marginal Man.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLV.1960.
- Epstein, C.F. 'Positive Effects of a Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women.' American Journal of Sociology. Vol.78.1973.
- Fenderson, L.H. 'The Negro Press as a Social Instrument.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XX.1951.
- Fenn, C.P. 'Marcus Garvey: His Opinions About Africa.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXXIII.1964.
- Fleming, R.E. 'Sutton E. Griggs, Militant Black Novelist.' Phylon. Vol.34.1973.
- Foley, E.P. 'The Negro Businessman in Search of a Tradition.' Daedalus. Vol.95.1966.
- Fontaine, W.T. 'An Interpretation of Contemporary Negro Thought from the Standpoint of the Sociology of Knowledge.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXV.1940.
- Gatewood Jr., W.B. 'Black Americans and the Quest for Empire, 1898-1903.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.38.1972.
- Geiss, I. 'Pan Africanism.' Journal of Contemporary History. Vol.4.1969.
- Gloster, H.M. 'Race and the Negro Writer.' Phylon. Vol.XI.1950.
- Glucksberg, C.I. 'The Alienation of Negro Literature.' Phylon. Vol.XI.1950.



- Gottschalk, J. 'The Rhetorical Strategy of Booker T. Washington.' Phylon. Vol.XXVII.1966.
- Graves, J.L. 'The Social Ideas of Marcus Garvey.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXXI.1962.
- Guzman, J.P. 'Monroe Nathan Work and his Contributions.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXXIV.1949.
- . 'W.E.B. DuBois - The Historian.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXX.1961.
- Hale, W.H. 'The Negro Lawyer and his Clients.' Phylon. Vol.XLIII.1952.
- Harlan, L.R. 'Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden.' American Historical Review. Vol.LXXI.1965-66.
- . 'Booker T. Washington in Biographical Perspective.' American Historical Review. Vol.LXXV.1970.
- . 'The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.37.1971.
- Hart, R. 'The Life and Resurrection of Marcus Garvey.' Race. Vol.IX.Oct.1967.
- Holmes, E.C. 'Alain Leroy Locke.' Phylon. Vol.XX.1959.
- Houchins, J.R. 'The Negro in Professional Occupations in the United States.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXII.1953.
- Isaacs, H.R. 'The American Negro and Africa: Some Notes.' Phylon. Vol.XX.1959.
- . 'DuBois and Africa.' Race. Vol.II.1960.
- . 'Blackness and Whiteness.' Encounter. Vol.21.1963.
- Jackson, B. 'An Essay in Criticism.' Phylon. Vol.XI. 1950.
- Jackson, M.M. 'Letters to a Friend: Correspondence from James Weldon Johnson to George A. Towns.' Phylon. Vol.XXIX.1968.
- Jenkins, M.D. 'Intellectually Superior Negro Youth: Problems and Needs.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XIX.1950.
- Johnson, C.S. 'The Rise of the Negro Magazine.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLIII.1928.
- Jones, L.H. 'The Editorial Policy of Negro Newspapers of 1917-18 as compared with that of 1941-42.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXIX.1944.
- Jones, R. 'Proving Blacks Inferior, 1870-1930.' Black World. Vol.XX. 1971.

- Kew, G.E. 'Patterns of the Harlem Renaissance.' Black World. Vol.XXI. 1972.
- Klingberg, F.J. 'Carter G. Woodson: Historian and his Contribution to American Historiography.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLI.1956.
- Lash, J.S. 'The Race Consciousness of the American Negro Author; Toward a Re-examination of an Orthodox Critical Concept.' Social Forces. Vol.28.1949-50.
- Lewis, E. 'The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.21.1955.
- Link, A.S. 'The Negro As A Factor in the Campaign of 1912.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXXII.1947.
- Maidment, R.A. 'Plessey versus Fergusson Re-examined.' Journal of American Studies. Vol.7.1973.
- Mazlish, B. 'Marginality, Mobility and Stratification.' Phylon. Vol.XIV.1953.
- Meier, A. 'Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press: With Special Reference to the Colored American Magazine.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXXV.1953.
- . 'Booker T. Washington and the Rise of the N.A.A.C.P.' Crisis. Vol.61.1954.
- . 'Booker T. Washington and the Town of Mound Bayou.' Phylon. Vol.XV.1954.
- . 'Toward a Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.23.1957.
- . 'Boycotts of Segregated Street Cars, 1894-1906.' Phylon. Vol.XVIII.1957-58.
- . 'The Racial and Educational Policy of Kelly Miller, 1895-1915.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXIX.1960.
- and Lewis, D. 'History of the Negro Upper-Class in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1958.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXVIII.1959.
- Meier, A. and Rudwick, E. 'The Boycott Movement and Jim Crow Street Cars in the South, 1900-06.' Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol.LV.1968.
- Miller, S.M. 'The Socialist Party and the Negro, 1901-20.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.IX.1924.
- Monahan, T.P. and Monahan, E.H. 'Some Characteristics of American Negro Leaders.' American Sociological Review. Vol.21.1956.
- Morsell, J.A. 'The N.A.A.C.P. and its Strategy.' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol.357.1965.

- Osofsky, G. 'Race Riot, 1900: A Study in Ethnic Violence.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXXII.1963.
- Ovington, M.W. 'The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.IX.1924.
- Porter, J.A. 'Four Problems in the History of Negro Art.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXVII.1942.
- Pratts, P.L. 'Race Relations and the Negro Press.' Phylon. Vol.XIV.1953.
- Record, W. 'Intellectuals in Social and Racial Movements.' Phylon. Vol.XV.1954.
- . 'The Negro Intellectual and Negro Nationalism.' Social Forces. Vol.33.1954-55.
- . 'Negro Intellectuals and Negro Movements: Some Methodological Notes.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXIV.1955.
- . 'Sociological Theory, Intra-Racial Color Differentiation and the Garvey Movement.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXV.1956.
- . 'Negro Intellectual Leadership in the N.A.A.C.P., 1910-1940.' Phylon. Vol.XVII.1956.
- . 'Extremist Movements Among American Negroes.' Phylon. Vol.XVII.1956.
- . 'Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community.' British Journal of Sociology. Vol.8.1957.
- Redding, J.S. 'The Negro Writer - Shadow and Substance.' Phylon. Vol.XI.1950.
- Reilly, J.M. 'The Dilemma in Chesnutt's "The Marrow of Tradition".' Phylon. Vol.XXXII.1972.
- Rinder, I.D. 'A Social Look into the Negro Pictorial.' Phylon. Vol.XX. 1959.
- Rodgers, B.F. 'William E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Pan-Africa.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XL.1955.
- Rudwick, E.M. 'W.E.B. DuBois in the Role of Crisis Editor.' Journal of Negro History. Vol. XLIII.1958.
- . 'W.E.B. DuBois and the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXVI.1957.
- . 'The Niagara Movement.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.42.1957.
- . 'The National Negro Committee Conference of 1909.' Phylon. Vol.XVIII.1957-58.
- . 'DuBois Last Year As Crisis Editor.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXVII.1958.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 'DuBois versus Garvey: Race Propagandists at War.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXVIII.1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'W.E.B. DuBois and the Universal Races Congress of 1911.' Phylon. Vol.XX.1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Booker T. Washington's Relations with the N.A.A.C.P.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXIX.1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Race Leadership Struggle: Background of the Boston Riot of 1903.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol. XXXI.1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'East St. Louis and the "Colonization Conspiracy" of 1916.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXXIII.1964.
- Savage, W.S. 'Twenty Years of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XX.1935.
- Schuler, E.A. 'The Houston Race Riot, 1917.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXIX.1944.
- Shack, W.A. 'Black Muslims: A Nativistic Religious Movement Among Negro Americans.' Race. Vol.III.1962.
- Shapiro, H. 'Muckrakers and American Negroes.' Phylon. Vol.XXXI.1971.
- Shepperson, G. 'Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism.' Journal of African History. Vol.I. 1960.
- Shockley, A.A. 'Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: A Biographical Excursion into Obscurity.' Phylon. Vol.33.1972.
- Smith, W.G. 'The Negro Writer: Pitfalls and Compensations.' Phylon. Vol.XI.1950.
- Starobin, R. 'The Negro: A Central Theme in American History.' Journal of Contemporary History. Vol.3.1968.
- Thornasson, M.E. 'What Contribution Can Fraternities Make to the Moral and Social Development of Students in Negro Colleges.' Quarterly Review of Higher Education among Negroes. Vol.I.1933.
- Thornborough, E.L. 'The Brownsville Episode and the Negro Vote.' Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol.XLIV.1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York Age.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLIII.1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The National Afro-American League, 1887-1908.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.27.1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The American Negro Newspapers 1880-1914.' Business History Review. Vol.40.1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Booker T. Washington as Seen by his White Contemporaries.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.LIII.1968.

- Tillman Jnr., J.A. and Tillman, M.N. 'Black Intellectuals, White Liberals and Race Relations: An Overview.' Phylon. Vol.33.1972.
- Tucker, D.M. 'Miss Ida B. Wells and The Memphis Lynching.' Phylon. Vol.XXXII.1972.
- Turner, J. 'Black Nationalism: The Inevitable Response.' Black World. Vol.XX.1971.
- Van Woodward, C. 'The Irony of Southern History.' Journal of Southern History. Vol.19.1953.
- Walden, D. 'Contemporary Opposition to the Political and Educational Ideals of Booker T. Washington.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XLV.1960.
- Ware, G. 'Lobbying as a Means of Protest: The N.A.A.C.P. As An Agent of Equality.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXXIII.1964.
- Wesley, C.H. 'Carter G. Woodson - As A Scholar.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.XXXVI.1951.
- Wood, L.H. 'The Urban League Movement.' Journal of Negro History. Vol.IX.1924.
- Wright, E. 'Souls of Black Folk and My Larger Education.' Journal of Negro Education. Vol.XXX.1961.
- Wynne, L.N. 'Brownsville: The Reaction of the Negro Press.' Phylon. Vol.33.1972.
- Young Jnr., W.M. 'The Urban League and its Strategy.' Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol.357.1965.